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"i Can't Just Turn Over My Daughter And Let It Be": Black Mothers And The Racial Socialization Of Their Daughters Attending White Schools

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“I CAN’T JUST TURN OVER MY DAUGHTER AND LET IT BE”: BLACK MOTHERS AND THE RACIAL SOCIALIZATION OF THEIR DAUGHTERS ATTENDING WHITE SCHOOLS

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to all the African American mothers raising their daughters in predominantly white schools who have worked, and continue to work, tirelessly on behalf of their young daughters in an effort to raise them with a strong racial identity, positive self-concept, and sense of connectedness and purpose. And to Ahlaam Symone and Amelle Aemena, anything you want to accomplish, you can accomplish.

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Introduction

Statement of the Problem

Race is a social construct imbued with real meaning and substance; it is part and parcel of our everyday life. Michael Omi and Howard Winant (2008) write that, "[c]onscious or unconscious, acknowledged or denied, the racial organization of everyday life is omnipresent" (p. 1586). For parents of color, the omnipresence of race informs their child-rearing practices and the methods used to socialize their children. Parental racial socialization—along with other agents of socialization—influences the child's development of a racial identity (Caughy, O'Campo, Randolph, & Nickerson, 2002). For children of color attending predominantly white schools, a positive racial identity can help one to cope and excel in an environment that may neglect or openly belittle one's racial identification (Murray & Mandara, 2002; Tatum, 2004). What parents do to assuage the effects of such a reality is imbedded within the process of racial socialization[1]. Understanding the nature of this process and how it positively impacts racial identity development can go a long way in helping parents, educators, and researchers create and implement programs that are beneficial to the academic and social success of young children of color attending predominantly white schools.

[1] When referring to the socialization process some studies distinguish between *racial* and *ethnic* socialization, others use the term racial-ethnic or ethno-racial socialization. Researchers have yet to arrive at consensus. Hughes, Rodriguez, Smith, Johnson, Stevenson, and Spicer (2006) caution that "developing a clear consensus on when the term *ethnic socialization* versus the term *racial socialization* should be used may also pose challenges….In our view, there is not yet a satisfying solution for unambiguously distinguishing socialization that is *racial* from socialization that is *ethnic* or for determining when one term should be used rather than the other" (748-749). For the purpose of this study the term racial socialization will be used as is the case with the bulk of research regarding this phenomenon.

African Americans'[2] history as an oppressed, subjugated, and denigrated racial group makes the task of socializing African American children vitally important. As WEB Du Bois aptly articulated:

> It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness,--an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder. (1903/1994, p. 2)

For African American parents the socialization task requires preparing children for this *two-ness* or *double consciousness* as an American and a black/African American. It is a unique undertaking obliging parents to provide "specific verbal and nonverbal messages…for the development of values, attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs regarding the meaning and significance of race and racial stratification, intergroup and intragroup interactions, and personal and group identity" (Lesane-Brown, 2006, p. 403). In their child-rearing repertoire, African American parents possess many modes for transmitting messages aimed at promoting the emotional and psychological well-being of their children. These racial socialization messages are fundamental to the development of a child's racial identity and if constructive, they can lead to the development of a positive racial identity—one reflecting a psychologically healthy child.

Racial identity is conceptualized as a person's identification with a racial group (Sanders Thompson, 2001). The development and defining of a racial identity is a socially complex

[2] The terms African American and black will be used interchangeably throughout this work as will Caucasian and white.

process that is influenced by parental socialization practices (Bentley, Adams, & Stevenson 2009; Sengstock, 2009). The ability to develop a positive racial identity, while negotiating an environment that disparages one's phenotypic characteristics and group identification, is a momentous feat. The social reality that blacks face makes it more likely that they will "encounter barriers to healthy racial identity development" (Ford & Whiting, 2009). A healthy or positive racial identity is important because it impacts emotional, academic, and social functioning. Furthermore, it is associated with "positive psychological outcomes, such as an increased tolerance of frustration, a stronger sense of purpose, enhanced school performance, and greater security in self" (Sanders Thompson, 200, p. 156).

The extant scholarship on racial socialization has focused on a bevy of issues ranging from investigating sociodemographic factors and their influence on the prevalence and frequency of racial socialization (e.g., Bowman & Howard, 1985; Thornton, Chatters, Taylor & Allen, 1990) to examining racial socialization as a predictor of various child and adult outcomes (e.g., Constantine & Blackmon, 2002; Frabutt, Walker & MacKinnon-Lewis, 2002; Hughes & Chen, 1997) with the majority of these studies being undertaken in urban communities across the United States. Literature proffering various models of racial identity development is quite abundant (e.g., Cross, 1991; Helms, 1990; Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley & Chavous, 1998; Wijeyesinghe & Jackson, 2001). However, there are few works—sociological or otherwise—explicitly examining the confluence of parental racial identity, racial socialization strategies, and the promotion of a child's positive racial identity. And when one takes into account the locales in which studies of racial socialization or racial identity have occurred, the current study is made even more distinctive in that its setting is the suburbs surrounding the city of Detroit.

Additionally, given that African American students attending predominantly white schools can encounter racial situations which may negatively impact their academic and social success (Feagin, Vera, & Imani, 1996; Ford & Whiting, 2009; Tatum, 1997), understanding how parental racial socialization and how having a positive racial identity can buffer against such negative outcomes is important information for parents and educators to have. Between 2000 and 2005 many African Americans and their children left the city of Detroit for surrounding suburban communities (2005 American Community Survey). Upper-middle class, predominantly white communities such as Birmingham, Bloomfield Hills, Farmington Hills, the Grosse Pointes, Northville, and West Bloomfield have each seen increases in the number African American residents and the numbers of African American children attending their public schools. Such demographic shifts occurring in a region with a legacy of a stark urban/suburban divide (i.e. black/white) stemming from America's racist social structure and taking root through the need for a larger automotive workforce, restrictive covenants, redlining, rebellions/riots, and forced bussing makes the examination of racial socialization and racial identity in metropolitan Detroit critically important. School districts which actively support the positive racial identity development of their African American students by partnering with the parents of these students and the research community may help bridge the divide that exists in this region. Not only can such partnerships benefit African American students, but the school districts and their faculties and administrators will also gain from creating an environment and school culture that is inclusive of all its stakeholders (Banks, 2006; Ford & Whiting, 2009; Ridzi & McIntosh, 2006). African American students may find their confidence and abilities bolstered and students and staff of various racial/ethnic backgrounds will also flourish in an environment that is academically and socially nurturing. Studies demonstrate that environments which embrace

diversity through the creation and implementation of programs and training tend to reap benefits in the areas of institutional effectiveness, support, retention, and satisfaction (Banks, 2006; Ridzi & McIntosh, 2006). School districts which seek to be inclusive and are supporters of diversity may produce students who go on to colleges and universities and workplaces carrying with them teachings and experiences which may help them to positively interact with those of diverse backgrounds, ultimately lessening the social distance between them. Such a skill will become increasingly important as we approach 2050 when it is estimated that the majority of America's population will be persons of color (U.S. Census Bureau, 2008). The focus of this study is African American parental racial socialization and its influence on the development of a child's racial identity. More specifically, this study is interested in identifying how mothers with young daughters understand the process of racial socialization, how they discuss racial socialization and racial identity, and what sorts of things they do to socialize their daughters and to influence the development of their daughters' racial identity. Ultimately, this identifies the strategies that African American mothers use to promote a positive racial identity in their elementary-age daughters attending a predominantly white school.

Statement of Purpose

The overall purpose of this study is to identify the strategies that African American mothers use to promote a positive racial identity in their elementary-age daughters attending a predominantly white school. I hope to be able to fully examine this topic by exploring how these mothers conceive of the socialization that they do, how they talk about racial socialization and racial identity, and what they do to socialize their daughters and to influence the development of their daughters' racial identity. To explore these issues and ultimately be able to identify the strategies used to promote a positive racial identity, this study made use of surveys and focus

group interviews. This mixed methods approach was quite important in that it allowed for quick compilation of vast amounts of statistical data related to racial socialization and racial identity development while also providing for the elucidation of these findings. Essentially, numerical data was not simply amassed; explication of the meaning of that data was able to take place.

Understanding the process of parental racial socialization and its influence on the development of a positive racial identity is important to parents, researchers, and educators. For parents such information can equip them with additional tools which may help to benefit their children academically, socially, and developmentally (Iruka & Barbarin, 2009). Perhaps a parent has encountered a situation involving issues of race and their young child, yet they felt ill-prepared to deal with the situation or felt that it could have been addressed differently. Having strategies laid bare which may have assisted them when the situation presented itself could have made the work of being a parent just a bit easier and a bit less frustrating, possibly enhancing their well-being and the well-being of their child. For researchers, delineating the process of racial socialization and its affect on racial identity development allows us to gain greater understanding of a social phenomenon which has become an essential feature of the American social structure. Unlocking this phenomenon and studying it from various angles adds to our body of knowledge and can have practical implications for the creation of programs serving parents and educators at all levels of schooling. For educators, the importance of creating and implementing programs built upon the information gained from this study cannot be overstated: it may well assist in the academic and social success of not only African American students but all students—ultimately helping to lessen the social distance between those of varying racial/ethnic backgrounds.

Contextualizing the Research

Rationale. Parents, educators, and researchers wonder how to best help young African American children attending predominantly white schools cope and excel in such an environment (Bentley et al., 2009; Ford & Whiting, 2009; Iruka & Barbarin, 2009). Many African American parents across the country have moved their families from predominantly black cities or neighborhoods to predominantly white ones in hopes of giving their children better educational opportunities. For some parents such a move is a double-edged sword: children receive opportunities that they would not have if they remained in the inner-city, yet these same children are now placed into a school environment where they may be the only African American or only one of a few. When confronted with this new reality, what might some parents do to acclimatize their child to such a setting and to reinforce their child's racial identity?

When studying parental racial socialization and its attendant practices, social scientists tend to study urban, lower-income adult and adolescent African Americans (Suizzo, Robinson, & Pahlke, 2008). We know that a child's awareness of race and racial identity is present as early as three years of age (Clark & Clark, 1939; Comer & Poussaint, 1992; Tatum, 1997); however, we do not usually see studies of African American parents and their prepubescent children, let alone those who are middle-class and suburban. The use of this age group and their parents as sample populations by researchers is lacking and produces gaps in our knowledge. Such a reality warrants further investigation into the nature and processes of the racial socialization messages of parents of elementary-age children. Additionally, concentrating on African American women and their daughters requires exploring how being black and female—the black female experience—uniquely impacts racial socialization and racial identity development. Lastly,

focusing on suburban mothers is especially relevant when one considers the demographic shifts occurring in some metropolitan areas.

Why metropolitan Detroit? Metropolitan Detroit provides a unique milieu for undertaking a study of the strategies that African American mothers use to promote a positive racial identity in their young daughters attending predominantly white schools. The 2000 U.S. Census and the 2005 American Community Survey show quite convincingly that the majority of blacks leaving the city of Detroit are moving to predominantly white suburban communities. Between 2000 and 2005, Detroit lost 90,000 of its black residents, while the tricounty area's African American population increased. According to the Detroit News, 22% of Metro Detroit's African Americans lived in the suburbs in 2000; by 2005 the percentage had grown to an estimated 32% (2006, August 15). Such demographic shifts bring to the fore issues of racial socialization and racial identity development. How will parents promote a healthy, positive racial identity in their children while navigating an institution which perpetuates the racial order (Tatum, 2004)? The profile of black Detroiters who out-migrated to surrounding suburban communities reflects middle-class, dual-earner married couples with school age children (2005 American Community Survey). These children will encounter predominantly white neighborhoods and school districts; schools staffed with people who do not look like them and classrooms where they may be *the only one* or only one of a few. Numerous studies document the effects of being a racial *token*. In environments were persons of color are in the numerical minority they are faced with high visibility resulting in the pressure to perform and feelings of constantly being surveilled by members of the dominant group; they experience social isolation/alienation stemming from the exaggeration of difference between themselves and dominant group members; and they are trapped and limited in their role as the *spokesperson* for

all black people or as the *expert* on all things associated with being black in America (Jackson & Stewart, 2003; Jackson, Thoits, & Taylor, 1995; Kelly, 2007; Mc Donald & Wingfield, 2009). Additionally, moving from a majority black city and school district to predominantly white ones means that parents will come up against situations where race and their children's racial identity take on a salience that heretofore they may have not fathomed. Students who have come from racially homogenous school settings will now tread in territory "consciously or half-consciously [thought of as] *white places*" (Feagin et al., 1996, p. 51). These physical spaces (classrooms, cafeterias, playgrounds, etc.) become racialized, establishing who belongs and where, and who controls the space. This exercise in racial demarcation is played out through everyday microaggressions (e.g. avoidance, exclusion, being told one speaks well, exposure to stereotypic images in media, etc.) or subtle actions of discrimination (Deitch, Barsky, Butz, Chan, Brief, & Bradley, 2003; Masko, 2005; McCabe, 2009; Smith, Allen, & Danley, 2007). The toll of racial tokenism and of having to function in racialized spaces can lead to increased levels of depression, anxiety, frustration, anger, underperformance and a myriad of other deleterious academic, emotional, psychological, and physiological effects (Chavous, Harris, Rivas, Helaire, & Green, 2004; Deitch et al., 2003; Feagin et al., 1996; Jackson et al., 1995; Jackson et al., 2003; Smith et al., 2007).

The physical location of this study is as important as the social locations (i.e. race, gender, class) that are under examination. Metro Detroit's history of contentious race relations, in light of the outlined demographic shifts, makes issues of racial socialization and racial identity development all the more pertinent. Thomas Sugrue provides a comprehensive and provocative examination of the crippling problems which have plagued postwar metropolitan Detroit. Arguing that, "the coincidence and mutual reinforcement of race, economics, and politics in a

particular historical moment, the period from the 1940s to the 1960s, set the stage for the fiscal, social, and economic crises that confront urban America today" (1996, p. 5), Sugrue demonstrates that the stark urban/suburban divide that exists today in metro Detroit is the result of unabated, systemic and institutionalized racism and discrimination, as well as acute housing difficulties. Henry Ford's need for an expanded workforce coincided with the demise of the agricultural South. Many southern blacks headed north to industrial jobs that were opening to them as a result of a tight labor market, unions and civil rights organizations, and Executive Order 8802 (Farley, Danziger, & Holzer, 2000; Goldfield, 1997; Sugrue, 1996). However, with an influx of new workers and virtually no wartime housing construction, Detroit was a racially-charged incendiary environment, ready to explode at any moment. Blacks migrating to Detroit were confined to sections on the east side of the city, relegating them to areas of overcrowded and substandard housing. Families were crammed into single-family dwellings that had been subdivided into flats of three, four or more. Needless to say, the conditions were unsafe and unsanitary but blacks had little if no recourse. Heightened racial tensions exacerbated by the growing numbers of black Detroiters, overcrowded housing, and increasing numbers of black workers in predominantly white factories led to the second race riot in Detroit's history. The 1943 race riot resulted in the deaths of 34 people, 25 of them black and countless injuries and arrests (Zacharias, 1999).

As some blacks would attempt to break out of ghettoized areas, The Federal Housing Administration, Veterans Administration, and Home Owners' Loan Corporation along with bankers and real estate brokers, colluded to decimate African American upward mobility. Housing discrimination and resultant residential segregation "was a direct consequence of a partnership between the federal government and local bankers and real estate brokers" with the

"[f]ederal housing policy [giving] official sanction to discriminatory real estate sales and bank lending practices" (Sugrue, 1996, p. 43). This assertion is supported by the FHA manual which instructed that a neighborhood's racial homogeneity should be preserved, as well as its directive that restrictive covenants and zoning ordinances which upheld neighborhood homogeneity were to be respected. Furthermore, the practice of redlining by the Home Owner's Loan Corporation and the ensuing appraisal practices also sanctioned residential segregation. Consequently, the practice of racial steering and block busting by real estate agents and brokerages helped to foster residential segregation within the city and outside its limits. Individual white citizens also took action to resist the movement of blacks into their neighborhoods. The most striking example is that of the creation of powerful homeowners' associations that worked on many levels—private and public—to keep their neighborhoods white. White ethnic groups united under the sole purpose of maintaining white spaces within their community. Efforts to bar blacks were also arranged along Catholic parish lines within the city. Private homeowners along with the local government attempted to thwart integration of Detroit's neighborhoods at every turn. Through violence, the legal system or political influence, white Detroiters would do whatever it took to preserve their neighborhoods. Sugrue writes that, "persistent housing segregation stigmatized Blacks, reinforced unequal race relations, and perpetuated racial divisions" (1996, p. 257). Racial divisions which are alive and well today and are conveyed through one phrase: 8 Mile Road. The region's geographic north-south boundary also connotes the area's racial boundary; it is a road which few blacks or whites cross at night, fearing what may await them—real or perceived—in spaces where they are in the numerical minority.

Beginning in the 1940s and accelerating in 1967 many whites would leave the city of Detroit for communities north of 8 Mile Road. The height of Detroit's deindustrialization

occurred during this time period. As capital left the city (corporations pulled out and automated elements of their production) and its brown spaces for the surrounding green spaces, empty factories, vacant lots, and an eroding tax base were left behind. “The gap between Black workers and job opportunity grew the further firms moved from the metropolitan area” (Sugrue, 1996, p. 141). Blacks were the hardest hit as many lost their jobs because they lacked the seniority to be retained or transferred to other plants, as many were just obtaining these jobs in the 1940s and 1950s. Additionally, the dangerous and unskilled jobs they had been relegated to were the ones becoming automated. Consequently, young black males would find that the jobs that had been open to their elders were now virtually nonexistent for them. The Detroit of the 1950s was one of the *haves* and the *have-nots*. Whites were able to move to jobs and better lifestyles, while African Americans were prohibited to take up residence in areas closer to employment opportunities. As whites moved to outlying areas and suburbia, many middle-class blacks attempted to gain entry into these suburban communities as well. Racial conflict that existed within the city would now play out in these transitioning suburban communities.

Pontiac, Michigan is one Oakland County city that exemplified the backlash against increasing numbers of black residents and school desegregation efforts. In 1970 the Pontiac School District was ordered to bus students to achieve desegregation. Parents and citizens of the predominantly white community resisted the effort and at the start of the 1971-72 school year ten Pontiac school buses were firebombed (Zacharias, 1999). Later, members of the Michigan Ku Klux Klan would be convicted of the firebombing. White parents would continue to protest desegregation efforts by keeping their children out of school. Events such as this as well as the racist ranting of Orville Hubbard—mayor of Dearborn, MI—and attempts by communities such as Warren and others to prevent urban renewal programs and the construction of federally funded

housing within their city limits has left an indelible mark upon the memory and psyche of metro Detroit blacks (Farley et al., 2000). The area's history of contentious race relations is embedded in almost every thread that is the fabric of metro Detroit. Even as recently as 2005 the Grosse Pointe, MI school board was pressured by district parents to re-register all students in an effort to expose nonresidents (Walsh-Sarnecki & Mask, 2005). Many local observers believed this was an attempt to stem the tide of an increasing African American population within the district. For African American mothers living in suburban Detroit who send their daughters to predominantly white schools, this history must impact their ideas/thoughts about raising their daughters in a predominantly white environment and its influence on their daughters' development of a positive racial identity. In what ways does the physical location, and meaning it is imbued with, shape their racial socialization practices and the racial identity development of their daughters?

Research questions. The research question is: *What strategies do suburban African American mothers use to promote a positive racial identity in their elementary-age daughters attending a predominantly white school?* To answer this overall question I developed three more specific/subordinate questions:

1. First, since (as substantiated in the literature review) racialized socialization is a practice that parents of color engage in quite frequently, *how do suburban African American mothers conceive of the socialization (i.e. child-rearing) that they do*.
    a. By asking this question I seek to understand—in their own words—how mothers regard the racialized child-rearing work that they engage in. It is important to have the mothers describe the process in their own words, and to not just respond to sociological/psychological terminology thrown at them by

the researcher. Therefore, focus group interviews provided the context for answering this question.

2. Second, what is the *nature of the discourse when these mothers talk about issues of racial socialization and racial identity development (regarding them and regarding their daughters)*?
    a. The answer to this question is somewhat embedded in the answers to the first sub-question. Nonetheless, this question gets at the mothers' attitudes, values, and beliefs as they relate to racial socialization and racial identity development. To determine how mothers talk about their own racial socialization and identity development experiences, survey questions were constructed as well as focus group questions. To ascertain how the mothers talk about the racial socialization and racial identity development of their daughters, survey questions and focus group questions were used.
3. Third, this study interrogates the *sorts of things these mothers do or say to socialize their daughters and to influence the racial identity development of their daughters*.
    a. The question requires finding out the actions these mothers report taking to socialize their daughters and to help shape their daughters' racial identity, the verbal and/or nonverbal messages these mothers transmit or believe they transmit to their daughters when socializing them, and the modes of message transmission. It was also beneficial to determine whether or not the messages/actions these mothers take reflect their personal experiences with socialization, racial and gender identity.

It is important to stress that this is a study about the mothers of daughters attending predominantly white schools in suburban Detroit. While a study focusing only on the daughters is very important and is my next logical undertaking, the current study has been constructed to look at the mothers only, to further our understanding of the efforts mothers put forth in racial socialization. My study is focused on mothers and their daughters only for now, not fathers and not sons. The parameters of this study were chosen conscientiously. As is apparent from the outlined research questions this project is narrow in scope on purpose and will ultimately provide a baseline for future studies I will undertake on this fascinating topic.

Significance of the Study

Investigating the racial socialization strategies used by suburban African American mothers in promoting a positive racial identity in their elementary-age daughters attending predominately white schools is important to assisting school districts to better educate students, train faculty and create curriculum as their districts increase their African American populations. I envision the findings from this study aiding in the development of teacher education programs, diversity training, and programs seeking to close the achievement gap between black and white students. For African American students to excel in predominately white school districts, issues of racial socialization and racial identity development must be taken into consideration. As this work has attempted to illustrate, black children in largely white schools will most likely face—early in their schooling—negative racial encounters with peers, faulty, and administrators. Such distress can result in poor academic performance, social isolation, and negative self-concept. Parental socialization and its influence in producing a healthy racial identity can buffer against negative racial encounters. It will take parents, schools, and researchers working collaboratively to help African American children excel and cope in predominantly white educational settings.

This can be achieved by promoting racially/culturally competent curricula which address students' socialization and identity development, attracting and retaining faculty committed to diversity, and effectively connecting the home-school environments. Conducting this research in metropolitan Detroit—with its history of contentious race relations—makes this study, its objectives, and findings all the more relevant.

In addition, this study moves the scholarship forward by examining the attitudes, beliefs, and experiences of suburban, middle-class African American mothers of elementary-age daughters. It provides for understanding the intersections of race and gender and offers an exploration of within group differences, an element which is sorely underrepresented in the extant literature. The bulk of research that has been conducted in the area of racial socialization messages and racial identity has examined urban, lower-income African American parents of adolescent and adult children. The findings from these studies are then extrapolated and applied to all blacks, making African Americans a monolith. African Americans are a diverse people along class, geography, family heritage, family structure, etc. lines. Examining issues which treat African Americans as indistinguishable from one another does not take into account all the social locations occupied and the ways in which they intersect to inform the personal and the social reality. What may work for inner-city African American parents with children attending predominantly black schools may not address the realities faced by suburban parents with children attending predominantly white schools.

Lastly, this research offers a theoretical framework that is underutilized in the scholarship. The existing body of knowledge examines racial socialization and racial identity development from a somewhat myopic psychological viewpoint by applying purely psychological theories. What seems to be missing from the extant literature is the interplay of

social structures and systems and their effects on racial socialization and identity development at intersecting social locations. The sociopsychological grounding that this study applies brings together the sociological and psychological approaches with the potential to generate a more thorough, compelling, and effective exposition of racial socialization messages and racial identity development.

Organization of the Study

This dissertation is organized into eight chapters. Following this introductory chapter, Chapter 2 presents a review of the literature covering race and racialization, racial socialization, mothering, racial identity development and gender identity development. The theoretical framework upon which this study rests is also explained in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 delineates the design of the research including the dataset profile, data collection, survey, objectives, hypotheses, statistical analyses, focus group objectives, and qualitative analysis techniques. Chapter 4 presents the univariate, bivariate, and multivariate results of the survey data analysis. Chapter 5 presents the analysis of one aspect of the focus group data. Chapter 6 bridges the quantitative and qualitative findings regarding racial socialization. Chapter 7 bridges the quantitative and qualitative findings regarding a set of strategies mothers use which are a dimension of Collins' motherwork concept (1994). The dissertation concludes with Chapter 8 which discusses the major research findings and their connections to the theoretical framework, the contributions this study makes to the existing body of knowledge, the study's strengths and limitations, the implications of the results for children, parents, school districts, and educational policy initiatives as well as directions for future research.

Chapter 2

The Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

The Literature Review

The existing scholarship which is relevant to this study's investigation of the strategies African American mothers use to promote a positive racial identity in their elementary-age daughters attending predominantly white schools includes the areas of race, racial socialization, and racial identity development.

Race and racialization. Examining parental racial socialization practices and their relation to racial identity development requires defining and exploring the concept of race. A discussion of the race concept provides perspective for any argument focusing on racial socialization and racial identity development. For the purpose of this research, race will be discussed from a sociological viewpoint.

Race as a concept is a modern contrivance taking root at the end of the middle ages (Winant, 2000). It can be defined as "a concept that signifies and symbolizes sociopolitical conflicts and interests in reference to different types of human bodies" (Winant, 2000, p. 172). The racialization of human phenotypes and, its tumultuous effects, is clearly evident in the United States. Historically, the racialization of phenotypes can be seen in two legal statutes from the colonial era. In 1662 a law passed by the Virginia Assembly legally recognized slavery as a hereditary condition (Morgan, 1975). This law determined whether a child was slave or free based upon the status of the mother. Around this same time, the majority of those identified as slaves were of African descent. Similarly, a 1663 law passed in Maryland stated that "[a]ll negroes or other slaves within the province, all negroes to be hereafter imported, shall serve *durante vita* [during one's entire life]" (Tannenbaum, 1992 [1946], p. 67). Laws such as these helped to fuel the syllogism in the U.S. that all blacks were slaves and that all slaves were black;

the two became inextricably linked. To this equation were applied moral, (pseudo) scientific, and biblical justifications for the enslavement of blacks—in perpetuity. Race still perseveres and carries with it real meaning and effect, even though it is superficial and unstable because it is based on phenotypic characteristics. In contemporary U.S. society we see the consequences of race and racialization in the facts that blacks and whites, in general, do not reside in the same neighborhoods, attend the same schools, share close friendships or intimate relationships. Consequently, when compared to whites, blacks are disproportionately poor, undereducated, concentrated in large inner-cities, and lack wealth (Massey & Denton, 1993; Oliver & Shapiro, 1995; Pattillo, 2005; Van Ausdale & Feagin, 2001).

Race has long been a topic which sociologists have addressed. Whether in terms of biological determinism (see Herbert Spencer, William Graham Sumner, etc.) or social construction (see Robert Park, Gunnar Myrdal, etc.), sociology has grappled with race. WEB Du Bois's conceptualization of race matured from being premised on the contradictory physical nature of race to emphasizing the "social heritage" of race (Zuckerman, 2004); it was pivotal in eliciting a paradigmatic shift in sociology. The Du Boisian "deconstruction of race as a scientific, rigid system of classification" (Zuckerman, 2004, p. 19) ushered in a new period of enlightenment in sociology that is the basis for the field's current conceptualization of race.

Sociologist Howard Winant was influenced by Du Boisian theory and has written extensively on race and racialization within the U.S. Winant's articles on racial formation rely upon the comparative method. He traces the historical, political, and cultural processes which shape our understanding of race and racialization. Winant (2006) describes the effect that race has on society when he writes that:

> The production of racial categories, the classification of people within them, and the quotidian experience of living within such classifications, are all complex processes that link macro-level societal dynamics—censuses, the spatial organization of housing, labour, transport, etc., and social stratification in general—with micro-level ones, such as acculturation and socialization, the 'testing' of attitudes and beliefs and risk-taking in everyday life, shifting interpretations of difference and identity, 'styles', etc…. At both the micro- and macro-social levels, in both cultural and political-economic frameworks, race must be signified and organized. (p. 989)

Such an argument reflects the positioning of race in our everyday life and in all aspects of American society. Winant writes about race using structural and interpersonal viewpoints; his understanding of race complements the theoretical manner in which I address the research question.

Overall, as a process racialization "takes place continually at both macro- and micro-levels and involves questions of who belongs where, what categories mean, and what effect they have on people's life chances and opportunities" (Lewis, 2003, p. 285). Such questions are well documented via an American framework, especially when the framework is situated in terms of the relations between African and Caucasian Americans. As parents and the family are our primary socializers, it only seems logical that issues of race and racialization in the U.S. lead to an examination of parental racial socialization.

The nature of racial socialization messages.

The triple quandary.[3] Parental racial socialization occurs across three distinct milieus of our sociopolitical structure: the dominant culture, the minority status experience, and the Afrocentric experience. Boykin and Toms (1985) named this phenomenon the *triple quandary*. African American parents must navigate these three terrains when socializing their children. First, the dominant culture reflects mainstream messages and expectations—these are "universally-held" values such as merit, equality, and justice which transcend race (Coard & Sellers, 2005). Second, the minority status experience is the milieu in which African American parents must prepare their children to face an oppressive society, one predicated on subjugation and dominance. It is in this realm that Frantz Fanon (1952/1967) so astutely cautioned that the African American's "first encounter with a white man oppresses [the Negro] with the whole weight of his blackness" (p. 150). And it is in this realm that black children become fully aware of their minority status and of how to cope with such a reality (Hughes & Chen, 1997). The third milieu is that of the Afrocentric[4]/cultural experience (Mutisya & Ross, 2005; Thomas, 2000). It is within this setting that African American parents educate their children about racial pride, traditions, and customs unique to being African American. The importance of socialization occurring in this milieu is best expressed by Cornel West when he writes that:

> A central preoccupation of black culture is that of confronting candidly the ontological wounds, psychic scars, and existential bruises of black people while fending off insanity and self-annihilation. Black culture consists of black modes of being-in-the-world…without fully succumbing to the numbing effects of such misery—to never allow such misery to have the last word. (1996, p.81)

[3] Phenomenon named by A. Wade Boykin and Forrest D. Toms (1985).

[4] This term reflects Thomas' explication of Boykin and Toms' third quandary based upon the influence of Molefi Asante's theory of Afrocentricity (1990). It is my belief that what African American parents do within this realm is best described and understood in terms of an Afrocentric worldview. See Mutisya and Ross (2005) for further discussion.

Therefore, it is within this situation that black children are equipped with the tools and strategies necessary to rise above the incessant invisibility and denigration that they may face in the larger society; hopefully developing as healthy functioning individuals aware of their own worth and place within the annals of humanity.

Message content. The content of parental racial socialization messages can be categorized as four types: 1) cultural socialization; 2) preparation for bias; 3) promotion of mistrust; and 4) egalitarianism. The terminology reflecting these four types of messages is in keeping with Hughes, Rodriguez, Smith, Johnson, Stevenson, and Spicer's (2006) admonishment that to advance the literature in this area it is imperative that we "use more precise and descriptive terminology" when referring to the messages we are examining (p. 749). In an effort to push the literature further I attempt to relate Hughes et al.'s four message types to Boykin and Toms' triple quandary. Explicit connection of the four types of parental racial socialization messages and the domains to which they are most applicable appears to be missing from the existing scholarship. For the purposes of this study I believe it is important to articulate the association between message type and socialization domain. Because African American parents are tasked with orienting their children across three different domains, message type and frequency will vary accordingly. In linking Hughes et al. (2006) and Boykin and Toms' (1985) work, I have determined the following:

1. Cultural socialization messages refer to information regarding racial heritage, history, and traditions and they reflect the Afrocentric/cultural experience orientation.
2. Preparation for bias messages refers to information regarding racial inequities and ways of coping and they reflect the minority status orientation.
3. Promotion of mistrust messages refers to information regarding distrusting interracial interactions and they also reflect a minority status orientation.
4. Egalitarian messages refer to equality, individual qualities, and peaceful coexistence and they reflect all three orientations.

Types 1-3 above reflect specific triple quandary domains; however, all message types are anchored to a dominant orientation. We should bear in mind that although the four message types and three socialization milieus exist for African American parents and their children, some parents will place greater emphasis on one milieu over another or emphasize one or two message types over the others. Researchers then are charged with extracting the "when" and "why" of these emphases, attempting to establish the patterns and relationships embedded in the racial socialization process. For this study it is believed that the mothers of black girls attending predominantly white schools may rely upon cultural socialization and preparation for bias messages more heavily than the other two message types because of the context (physical location) in which they are rearing their daughters; this may be particularly true of the mothers for whom racial identity is most salient.

Transmission of messages. Parents transmit racial socialization messages using a variety of methods—these methods constitute the strategies that promote the development of a racial identity. Messages can be transmitted utilizing the strategies of *modeling*, *exposure*, *role-playing* and *verbal communication* (Coard, Wallace, Stevenson & Broman, 2004; Hughes et al., 2006; Lesane-Brown, 2006). Modeling consists of demonstrating behavior to be intimated (e.g. proper cultural etiquette when interacting with elders). Exposure is bringing the child into contact with various environments or social situations (e.g. attending culturally-specific/Afrocentric activities or celebrations). Role-playing is the acting out of a specific role when faced with a particular situation or setting (e.g. having the "child respond with desirable behaviors to hypothetical situations" (Coard et al., 2004). Verbal communication is the use of direct or indirect conversations.

Modeling, exposure, and role-playing are each actionable strategies—they require execution or performance—whereas verbal communication uses words and does not require physical action. Additionally, the three actionable strategies are most likely expressed nonverbally. It is further suggested that all four modes/strategies are used to transmit messages either deliberately or inadvertently (Hughes et al., 2009; Lesane-Brown, 2006). If the intent of the message is deliberate then the strategy is used with purpose; if the intent of the message is inadvertent then the strategy is used without premeditation. Black mothers are more likely to use deliberateness or directness in their socialization practices (Iruka & Barbarin, 2009). However, the issue of intent—in the investigation of utilization of racial socialization strategies—is not always clear-cut. For instance, modeling strategies are usually used deliberately, yet there are situations when one may use the strategy without consciously intending to (e.g. eating of traditional foods that have been passed down through generations and have now become normalized and taken for granted as a part of the family's everyday diet); the same can be said for some exposure strategies and indirect verbal communications (such as when a child hears/observes parents' conversations with others). Role-playing is the only strategy that requires deliberate intent. The complexity of the racial socialization process is highlighted by the fluidity of strategy use and message intent; utilization and intent are not definitively shaped, they can change with each encounter. Racial socialization strategies are an important research topic because these strategies influence a child's development of a racial identity (Coard & Sellers, 2005; Harris & Graham, 2007; Lesane-Brown, 2006; Thomas & King, 2007).

Parental racial socialization. Why is racial socialization important? Sociologist Amanda E. Lewis writes that "[t]o understand the contemporary production and reproduction of racial ideology and racial structures, we must look to the day-to-day events and arenas where

ideologies and structures are lived out" (2003, p. 284). One vehicle through which racial ideology is produced and reproduced is that of the family since "the young must regularly be socialized into the existing racial scheme to learn where they fit and how they sit in relation to others" (Lewis, 2003, p. 286). Perhaps the most influential socialization occurs through the family and for African American parents this task is vitally important to their child's physical and psychological well-being. It has been found that "children whose parents socialize them [racially] report more positive self-concept than children who lack an intervention that protects against unchallenged and pervasive stereotypes" (Swanson, Cunningham, Youngblood, & Spencer, 2009).

One of the earliest studies to investigate parental racial socialization is that of Hughes and Chen (1997). This psychological study examined various predictors of racial socialization among African American families living in Chicago. The participants were two-income, married couples with at least one child between the ages of 4 and 14. One hundred fifty-seven families were involved in the study. The mean age for mothers was 37 and for fathers it was 38. The median family income was $40,000-$54,000 per year. Using structured interviews with one parent from each family the researchers were able to find that the content of racial socialization messages transmitted were of cultural socialization rather than preparation for bias or promotion of mistrust. Furthermore, Hughes and Chen determined that "[p]arents were significantly less likely to socialize younger children regarding racial discrimination, prejudice, or outgroup mistrust than they were to socialize older children in this regard" (1997, p. 211). Additionally, the researchers found that the type of racial socialization messages that parents received impacted the messages that they transmitted and that racially-biased experiences on the job were transformed into socialization messages for children aged 9-14 as opposed to those younger

(aged 4-8). In their concluding remarks, Hughes and Chen suggest that future studies examining racial socialization should look at these practices relative to African Americans living in predominantly white communities as there may be distinct differences. I agree with Hughes and Chen that distinctions exist between parents living in predominantly black versus predominantly white areas. Since this study's focus is mothers and their daughters who live in metro Detroit suburbs (predominantly white communities), it believed that the content of their racial socialization messages will mostly consist of cultural socialization and preparation for bias messages. It is also believed that these mothers will emphasize the minority status and Afrocentric domains as they raise their daughters to be young black women while preparing them to succeed and excel in a predominantly white school. Furthermore, egalitarian messages may be found to be embedded within messages of cultural socialization and preparation for bias. Finally, it is believed that these mothers are more likely to socialize their young (elementary-age) daughters regarding discrimination and prejudice, but not out-group mistrust.

Hughes continues her research into racial socialization by examining how children may influence the way in which their parents socialize them. Hughes, along with Johnson (2001), explored "children's reports about their identity exploration processes in relation to parent-reported racial socialization as well as the separate and interactive effects of parents' and children's reports about children's unfair treatment" (p. 983). Hughes and Johnson used survey data from 94 African American parent-child dyads with children ranging in age from 8-13 years old, residing in "an ethnically diverse middle-class suburban school district" (2001, p. 984) . The data came from a 4-phase longitudinal study, but used only information collected during one phase. The researchers found that most parent participants reported transmitting cultural socialization and egalitarian messages but that the content of the messages had little connection

to the child's identity exploration or experiences with unfair treatment. Hughes and Johnson did discover that "children's ethnic identity exploration and parents' reports about children's unfair treatment from adults were both significant in predicting Preparation for Bias [messages]" (2001, p. 992). Lastly, Hughes and Johnson posit that racial socialization is a "transactional process rather than one that derives solely from parents' agenda" (2001, p. 993). Such a conjecture bolsters my contention that social-cognitive learning theory is important to examining racial socialization as it proposes that children engage in cognitive processing when learning about their social world; they are not simply passive receptacles, they operate on and actively influence their environment.

Caughy, O'Campo, Randolph, and Nickerson (2002) conducted a first-of-its-kind quantitative study that examined "whether racial socialization practices are important to the development of competence of very young African American children" (p. 1613). The participants were Baltimore families with children aged 3-4.5 years, both parents and children were surveyed. The study found a high prevalence of racial socialization messages amongst these parents. Caughy and colleagues found higher rates than Hughes and Chen (1997) reported. In addition, it appears that parents' racial socialization practices were important in promoting cognitive development (factual knowledge, problem-solving skills) in children which consequently encourages academic achievement. However, gender differences seem to exist in the relationship between racial socialization practices and child outcomes: specifically, "a home that was rich in African American culture was important for the wealth of factual knowledge developed in boys but not girls" (2002, p. 1623). In discussing this finding the authors suggest that the form the racial socialization takes may be important to understanding this gender difference in the association between socialization and cognitive outcomes. Lastly, parents who

emphasized cultural socialization/racial pride as a practice were more likely to report fewer behavior problems in their children.

Constantine and Blackmon (2002) examined black adolescents' racial socialization experiences and "area-specific self-esteem (i.e. home, school, and peer self-esteem)" (p. 322). The data was collected by surveying 115 middle school students attending a predominantly black school in the northeastern U.S. Their research demonstrated a positive correlation between cultural socialization messages and peer self-esteem. Interestingly, they also found that high levels of egalitarian messages:

> Were negatively associated with school self-esteem [which] may suggest that adopting more Eurocentric cultural values and behaviors (i.e., the "acting White" assumption) could serve as a detriment to Black students' academic self-efficacy in the context of predominantly Black school settings…. However, regardless of educational environment, the adoption of largely White cultural values or behaviors may be detrimental to some Black adolescents' self-esteem and racial identity development because it may promote the misconception that Black is inferior to White. (2002, pp. 331-332)

The abovementioned studies reflect the significance of racial socialization in everyday life by demonstrating that racial socialization is a frequent phenomenon that can produce positive cognitive, academic, and social outcomes for children as young as 3 years of age. These studies also highlight the complexities of the process of racial socialization by examining parents' words and actions as well as the influence of the child upon the entire process. Additionally, these

studies suggest that parent's gender and child's gender can affect racial socialization messages and child outcomes.

***Racial socialization measure*.** One instrument which measures (and is used in this project) racial socialization beliefs and experiences is the Cultural and Racial Experiences of Socialization (CARES). The CARES is comprised of two instruments the Parent-CARES for parents and caregivers and the Youth-CARES which targets adolescents and colleges students. The CARES was developed by Howard Stevenson and Keisha Bentley and is a unified version of four instruments previously created by Stevenson. The four instruments were the:

> Scale of Racial Socialization (SORS) [which] was designed to assess how African American parents and/or adolescents view racism, education, religion, and society as affecting child rearing…Both the adolescent (SORS-P) and adult versions (SORS-A) have demonstrated construct validity and reliability. The Teenager and Parent Experiences of Racial Socialization (TERS and PERS, 2002) were constructed with the same theoretical model of racial socialization used for the SORS. It presupposes proactive and protective aspects to parenting strategies in families of color, in particular African American families. The TERS and PERS measures focus on the frequency of the messages and have demonstrated exceptional reliability. (Stevenson & Bentley, 2007)

The Parent-CARES measures parental message transmission frequency, parental reception frequency, and gender-specific racial socialization along six subscales: *Alertness to Racism, Racial and Religious Coping with Antagonism, Cultural Legacy, Cultural Pride Reinforcement, Internalized Racism,* and *Interracial Coping*. The higher the score in a subscale, the higher the degree of endorsement of that message type. The Parent-CARES allowed me to (a) determine

the racial socialization messages mothers transmit; (b) measure the frequency that mothers transmit racial socialization messages to their daughters; (c) determine the racial socialization messages mothers report having received while growing up; (d) determine the frequency that mothers report having received racial socialization messages; and (e) measure the direction of racial socialization messages based on gender for each item (Stevenson & Bentley, 2007).

Racial socialization and mothering. Winant asserts that "[a] notable and intriguing feature of race is its ubiquity, its presence in both the smallest and the largest features of social relationships, institutions, and identities" (2000, p. 181). Therefore, the prominence of race in socialization practices comes as no surprise. African American parents are involved in racial socialization on a routine basis (Caughy et al., 2002; Lesane-Brown, 2006); it is a common practice, as well over 75% of parents report actively engaging in transmitting racial socialization messages (Coard & Sellers, 2005). And it is from this unique perspective (as African American parents) that racial socialization serves important functions for the individual and the society: (1) As a child-rearing practice it equips the child with the tools necessary to navigate race-specific and global terrains (Stevenson, Winn, Walker-Barnes & Coard, 2005); (2) It provides sources of knowledge, "locations from which individuals receive messages about race…critical in the process of racial identity formation" (White, 2009, p. 64); and (3) It also helps prevent a proliferation of maladjusted individuals by promoting positive messages about being African American while helping children overcome disparaging societal messages about their racial group (Stevenson et al., 2005).

Typically, mothers are more likely to spearhead the racial socialization process (Harris & Graham, 2007; Thomas & King, 2007) as a part of their mothering duties. The "assumption of mothering [is that] mothers are the primary persons looking out for their children's well-being…

[given that the] U.S. society is still structurally and socially organized around the gendered division of caregiving" (Uttal, 2002, p. 19). This mothering ideology "prescribes a perpetual set of tasks and activities for mothers, or motherwork" (Dillaway, 2006, p. 43). Racial socialization is important motherwork for African American mothers. It has purposeful meaning for the mothers, their children, the black community, and society at-large. Patricia Hill Collins (1997) posits that Afrocentric motherwork provides "emotional care for children and [provides] for their physical survival…[while also endowing] Black women with a base of self-actualization, status in the Black community, and a reason for social activism" (p. 266). In the black community motherwork extends beyond one's blood family into the larger community making black mothers "community othermothers," charged with aiding in the development of the black community (Collins, 1997, p. 269).

Historically, mothering has been an important part of African American heritage. One can look to the African-centered reverence for mothering to begin to understand its importance to the African American community through enslavement up until the present moment. From an Afrocentric perspective "reproduction is perceived as a means of strengthening the human group and ensuring the survival of life…[it is] equated with the life force itself…[therefore] mothering is highly regarded" (James, 1993, p. 45). Chattel enslavement of Africans prevented the establishment of stable families "in either the westernized or African sense" (James, 1993, p. 47). Men and women were generally not allowed spouses of their own choosing, women could be raped by white men at any time, enslaved men could not protect or provide for their families, and children could be torn from their mothers at any time. Such realities would lead women to adapt the Afrocentric women networks to now care for others' children during slavery. In African communal societies fostering was seen as "a means of diffusing children's primary relationships

to larger numbers of people within the extended family and the community…[and as] a means of relieving individual women of some of the responsibilities involved with nurturing and child care" (James, 1993, p. 46). During slavery fostering was adapted to care for the children of parents sold away or dead. Othermothers would take on the responsibility of caring for these orphaned children. Today, othermothering continues to be an important part of black mothering and thus plays a vital role in the black community. Motherhood has long been a contested institution for African American women with the dominant white American culture demonizing black women as masculine, non-virtuous, neglectful black mothers; characterizations taking root in slavery (even as black women nursed/reared/nurtured white children) and recycled for contemporary times in the Moynihan Report and through the dissemination of the welfare-queen image by the media. Still, black women continue to fight to define mothering and motherhood on their own terms.

Motherhood and the work it entails seem to be very important to black women. According to the 1987 National Survey of Black Americans, 87% of black women reported agreeing with the statement that motherhood is the most fulfilling experience a woman can have (Hatchett, 1991). Yet, Hill Collins cautions us that black motherhood/mothering can be "both dynamic and dialectical" (1992, p. 218). For black mothers motherhood can be struggle and agency, resistance and accommodation, onerous and effortless. One can feel stifled under the weight of family and community expectations or be empowered to self-definition (Collins, 1992). Black mothers have a unique perspective as women of color of various class, age, educational, etc. backgrounds. Hill Collins suggests that African American "women's innovative and practical approaches to mothering under oppressive conditions often bring power and recognition…but Black mothers' ability to cope with race, class, and gender oppression

should not be confused with transcending those conditions" (Collins, 1992, p. 234). Such is the contradictory nature of black motherhood; it can be highly desirable and rewarding yet requires great sacrifice and is riddled with feelings of ambivalence. These social realities bolster my desire to focus on mothers' racial socialization practices as opposed to fathers or any other agents of socialization.

Racial socialization and the mother-daughter relationship. Mothers transmit different racial socialization messages to their children according to the child's gender. Boys and girls receive different socialization messages: boys are socialized to overcome racial barriers (such as preparing for discrimination and prejudice) while girls are socialized to develop racial pride (through emphasizing group unity, learning about heritage, etc.) (Brown, Linver, Evans & DeGennaro, 2009; Dotterer, McHale & Crouter, 2009; Hill, 2001; Thomas & King, 2007). It is not surprising that racial socialization is a gendered process. If black women are the bedrock of the community, then black girls must be socialized to carry that mantle. Collins writes that "[b]lack daughters are raised…to anticipate carrying heavy responsibilities in their families and communities because these skills are essential for their own survival as well as for the survival of those for whom they will eventually be responsible" (1997, p. 270). In order to successfully carry that mantle they must have instilled in them a sense of racial pride so that they can aid the development and continuation of the community; for it is racial pride that encourages educational attainment and achievement in order to *uplift the race*. Assisting black girls prepare to take on such vital responsibilities requires that mothers teach their daughters "how to survive interlocking structures of race, class, and gender oppression while rejecting and transcending those very same structures" (Collins, 1997, p. 271). Black mothers do this by " 'doing gender'—modeling the behaviors they believed and verbally expressed were preferred and of importance

for their daughters" (Bentley et al., 2009). It is interesting to note that while black mothers are preparing their daughters to be strong, independent, and confident in order to take on role-specific responsibilities, they are—at the same time—socializing them into nontraditional gender roles (Buckley & Carter, 2005). Examination of this phenomenon can be found in fictional works (see Gwendolyn Brooks' *Maud Martha*; Zora Neale Hurston's *Their Eyes Were Watching God*; Toni Morrison's *Beloved*) and academic works (see Gloria Joseph's *Black Mothers and Daughters*; Gloria Wade-Gayles' *She Who is Black and Mother*; Alice Walker's *In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens*). That the African American mother-daughter socialization process has this fluid duality further warrants focusing this investigation on this relationship.

Research does exist which examines racial socialization as a gendered process. Frabutt, Walker, and MacKinnon-Lewis (2002) examine racial socialization messages and the quality of mother/child interactions. Using a mixed methods approach (surveys and videotaped interaction tasks) the authors collected data from 66 adolescents—transitioning to middle school—and their mothers living in two midsized southeastern U.S. cities. Frabutt and colleagues found that mothers who had a moderate frequency of racial socialization:

> Exhibited the most positivity (highly communicative with a high degree of warmth), were the most involved, and monitored their child's activities the most…displayed the lowest levels of mother/child dyadic negativity…[and] had children who exhibited the most positivity and displayed the lowest levels of negativity. (2002, p. 212)

This study did not find any significant differences between racial socialization messages mothers provided to girls as compared to boys. However, subsequent studies have found such differences. Using a sample consisting of 170 mother-adolescent dyads of blacks, Puerto Ricans,

Dominicans, and Chinese, Hughes, Hagelskamp, Way, and Foust (2009) found that cultural socialization messages were more salient for girls than for boys. In discussing this finding the authors write that "girls are not only more attuned to the cultural socialization messages their mothers report but, once received, such messages are more strongly associated with [dimensions of their ethnic-racial identity]" (p. 622). A second study by Thomas and King (2007) researched the "specific socialization messages given to African American daughters by mothers and the relationship between gendered racial socialization and communication" (p. 137). The authors compiled data from 36 mother-daughter dyads, with the daughters ranging in age from 13 to 21. The survey respondents resided in a large Midwestern U.S. city. It was determined that:

- daughters experience and process the socialization as mothers intended, as both reported similar messages, particularly the importance of self-determination and self-pride.
- total communication scores reported by daughters were positively related to self-esteem, suggesting that communication patterns between mothers and daughters have an influence on self-concept.
- a negative relationship was found between racial socialization messages around embracing the mainstream culture and self-esteem (Thomas & King, 2007, p. 140-141).

Findings from this research establish whether or not the racial socialization messages mothers experienced in their childhood are the same types of messages that they report giving to their daughters.

Suizzo, Robinson, and Pahlke's (2008) qualitative study utilized semi-structured interviews and focus groups and had as its participants middle-class mothers of 3-6 year olds, living in predominantly white suburban neighborhoods in the southwestern U.S. The authors investigated

"whether and how African American mothers engage in racial socialization…the meanings of educational achievement to these mothers and how these meanings are conveyed through academic socialization…[and] which aspects of interdependence and independence these mothers promote in their children" (2008, p. 287). The study found that mothers of these young children use exposure practices in their racial socialization repertoire and that their racial socialization incorporates academic socialization. Furthermore, these mothers "promote both independence and interdependence in a unique combination that we call collective independence, individual autonomy within and through family relatedness" (2008, p. 308). This is one of a small number of studies which examines middle-class mothers of young children.

These research reports demonstrate the significance in relying upon mothers and their daughters as the focus of this research. The types of socialization messages transmitted by mothers differ depending upon the child's gender. Furthermore, it would seem that the message the mother intends to send is the message that is received by the daughter. Therefore, it will be interesting to explore what mothers do/say when their daughters exhibit behavior that is incongruous with their racial identity—perhaps the daughter receives the message about her behavior loud and clear.

Racial identity.

Racial identity development. A person's identification with a racial group has personal, interpersonal, and sociological implications. Omi and Winant (2008) suggest that "[a]ny claim to a racial identity necessarily connects the claimant to others making similar claims and to the sociohistorical system in which that identity acquires meaning" (p. 1567). A sociohistorical system rooted in racism and racial oppression is the catalyst for the development of an African American racial identity. To wit, the "primary function of an internalized racial identity is to

protect individuals from the psychological harm that results from living in a racist society" (Dotterer et al., 2009, p. 64).

There are various theories regarding the development of a racial identity and a few of these theories will be presented in the ensuing pages of this work. Nonetheless it is instructive to begin an examination of the development of racial identity in African Americans with the work of Drs. Kenneth and Mamie Clark. Influenced by the work of Eugene and Ruth Horowitz, the Clark's seminal Doll Studies of the 1940s laid the groundwork for investigating racial identity development in African American children. Through their Doll Studies, the Clarks found that racial awareness is present in children as young as three and that the children participating in their studies preferred the white to the black doll (termed the self-hatred hypothesis) when asked a series of questions requiring the children to choose between the two (Harris & Graham, 2007). Their findings would go on to bolster the contention that separate is inherently unequal and help to usher in an era of desegregation efforts as a result of the monumental *Brown v. the Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* (1954) Supreme Court decision. In the seven decades since their groundbreaking work, an abundance of new research and findings have come to fruition. Advancements in the study of racial identity development have caused researchers to critique and question the Clarks' methodology and interpretations of their findings (Harris & Graham, 2007). Nevertheless, the Doll Studies conducted by Drs. Mamie and Kenneth Clark were pivotal in pushing the field of racial identity forward. Subsequent studies reveal that from 1950 to 1980 black children increased in their preference for the black doll; however, since the 1980s there has been a decrease in this preference, back to pre-1950s levels (Harris & Graham, 2007).

Racial identity development models and measures. There exist various models and assessments dedicated to investigating racial identity development. However, three models and

their corresponding assessment instruments warrant brief mention at this juncture because they are seen as seminal works in the field: 1) William Cross's Nigrescence Theory (1971, 2001) and the Cross Racial Identity Scale (2001); 2) Janet Helms's amendment to the Nigrescence Theory (1981, 1990) and the Racial Identity Attitudes Scale-Black (1990); and 3) Robert Sellers's Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (1997, 1998) and the accompanying Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (1997, 1998). These three models and their accompanying scales seem to be utilized most frequently when examining African American racial identity development.

William Cross's 1971 Nigrescence Model was foundational to subsequent models attempting to explain black identity development as well as the identity development of other racial groups. Nigrescence—a French word meaning the "process of becoming black"—postulates that there are five stages that a person goes through to develop a black identity. In stage 1—termed *Pre-encounter*—the person reflects an identity shaped by the dominant group and is ignorant of his/her real racial identity. Stage 2 is known as the *Encounter* stage and is so named because the person has a personal experience which requires him/her to question their identity, making the person open to exploring their truer identity. In the *Immersion-Emersion* stage the individual is attempting to throw off the old identity and actively acquire the new, truer identity. The first phase of this stage involves "immersion into a total Black frame of reference, the second phase (Emersion) represents emergence from the dead-end, racist, oversimplified aspects of Immersion" (Cross, 1991). Stage 4 is the *Internalization* stage and stage 5 is called *Internalization-Commitment*. During either of these last two stages the individual becomes secure in their racial identity and feels connected to their ancestry and the larger black

community. In 2001 Cross expanded his Nigrescence theory. The 2001 model is called NT-E or Nigrescence Theory-Expanded. In this manifestation:

> Black racial identity is defined as a multidimensional set of attitudes which fall under three worldviews: Pre-encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization. Pre-encounter attitudes…include Assimilation (endorsing being American more than African American), Miseducation (accepting negative societal stereotypes about African Americans), and Self-hatred (being unhappy that on is African American). Immersion-Emersion attitudes…are Intense Black Involvement (uncritical and intense support for everything considered Black or African American) and Anti-White (strong negative attitudes toward majority group members). All the Internalization attitudes reflect the acceptance of and positive attitudes toward being Black…[they] include Afrocentricity (accepting and living by Afrocentric principles), Biculturalist (privileging one's Black identity and *one* other identity; e.g., being Black and a woman), Multiculturalist Racial (accepting Black culture and cultures of other oppressed groups like Latinos and American Indians), and Multiculturalist Inclusive (accepting and respecting Black culture and all other cultural groups, including Whites and gays and lesbians. (Simmons, Worrell and Berry 2008, pp. 262-63)

The instrument created to assess black identity development according to the NT-E is called the Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS). It is a 40-item instrument that measures all of the Nigrescence attitudes except for Immersion-Emersion Intense Black Involvement, Biculturalist, and Multiculturalist Racial.

Janet Helms expanded Cross's 1971 model by suggesting that each stage be considered a "distinct worldview…[and that each] worldview was the result of [a person's] cognitive maturation level in interaction with societal forces…[and that each stage is] bimodal…having two potentially distinguishable forms of expression" (Helms 1990, p. 19). From her expansion of Cross's model she created the Racial Identity Attitudes Scale-Black (RIAS-B) to measure black racial identity attitudes. The RIAS-B is 50-item instrument that measures all of Cross's original stages except for the last stage (Internalization-Commitment).

Robert Sellers developed the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI). The model is based on a theory of "Black racial identity based on individuals' attitudes, behaviors and self-perceptions…[with] four core dimensions of racial identity: Salience, Centrality, Ideology, and Regard" (Simmons et al., 2008, p. 261). Salience is the degree to which race is important to one's self-definition. Centrality refers to the degree to which race is an essential part of one's self-concept and self-definition. There are four ideologies to this model: Assimilation, Humanist, Oppressed Minority, and Nationalist. The ideologies emphasize the commonalities between African Americans and American society, all humans, other minority groups or emphasize the uniqueness of being African American, respectively (Simmons et al., p. 2008). Regard refers to one's assessment of what it means to be African American on a private and public level. The Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI) is 56-item instrument which measures all of the dimensions of the MMRI except for Salience.

Each of these models and their accompanying assessments are the most widely used when conceptualizing and measuring black racial identity development. Cross's work laid the foundation for the generation of subsequent racial identity development models and continues to propel the field forward. Helms's model has led to the creation of her RIAS-W or Racial

Identity Attitudes Scale-White, and makes her one of the leading theorists of white racial identity development. Sellers's work is the most recent in the field and has led him to investigate the racial identity development of other groups. Research utilizing these models and their measures has shown that having a positive racial identity leads to various positive outcomes such as increased self-esteem, independence, interdependence, academic achievement, spiritual well-being and psychological well-being (Hughes et al., 2006; Lesane-Brown, 2006). Therefore, it is important to investigate the nature of racial socialization and its influence on the development of a racial identity in hopes of identifying the socialization strategies that aid in the internalization of a positive racial identity so that we may improve the academic, social, and personal outcomes for African American children attending predominantly white schools.

Black–female identity. Black women occupy a unique social position. They simultaneously inhabit two social locations which some may see as being inextricably linked: they are at once black and female—a black-female. These two social locations—race and gender—identify black women as being doubly oppressed. They may experience sexism from black men and racism from white women. Settles (2006) cites Kimberle Crenshaw's supposition that race and gender intersect for black women in three distinct ways: structurally, representationally, and politically. Structurally *woman* and *black* are lower status positions within the U.S. with black women experiencing both sexism and racism. Representationally black women are depicted in the social world as Mammies, Sapphires or Jezebels[5]. Politically black women may feel tension between their racial identity and their gender identity and the social/political aims of each group.

[5] See Carolyn M. West (1995) for a discussion of these images.

In a mixed methods study using 89 participants Settles (2006) found that "Black women placed equal importance on their race and gender, but the black-female identity was rated as more important than either the black or female identities…[Thus,] black women may choose to create a sense of self that combines and unifies these two aspects of who they are" (p. 597). Black women then regard their identity from an intersected perspective as a black-female. Such a social reality bolsters the use of the intersections approach to conduct this research and its analysis. Understanding the uniqueness of the black-female identity is fundamental to this project and the questions it seeks to investigate.

The field of gender identity development has produced models to explain the process of developing a female identity. One such model is that of Helms' (1990) Womanist Identity Model. This model is based upon Cross' Nigrescence theory. Women develop their identity through a stage-wise progression. There are four stages to the model: Pre-encounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization. A healthy womanist identity is found in the Internalization stage where the woman possesses a worldview which moves away "from an externally and societally based definition of womanhood to an internal definition in which the woman's own values, beliefs, and abilities determine the quality of her womanhood" (Ossana, Helms, & Leonard, 1992, p. 403). Ossana et al. (1992) developed the Womanist Identity Attitudes Scale (WIAS) to assess the attitudes associated with Helms' model. The authors used the scale to examine relationships between the model stages, environmental bias, and self-esteem of undergraduate women. They found a positive relationship between the Internalization stage and self-esteem while there were negative associations with the other three stages. Ossana and colleagues also determined that those in the less developed womanist identity stages perceived more gender bias on campus than those in the Internalization stage. The authors suggest that

"high levels of Internalization attitudes are related to women's capacity to shield themselves against environmental inequities by using better defensive strategies" (1992, p. 406). Although it was used cross-racially by Ossana et al., the WIAS appears to provide a good assessment of black women's identity development (Boisnier, 2003). It will be interesting to see if mothers' racial identity attitudes are associated with their gender identity attitudes and what impact, if any, gender identity attitudes have on racial socialization messages.

Summary

From this review of the literature it is clear that the race construct—and all that it is imbued with—has given rise to the notions of racial socialization and racial identity development making these phenomena essential aspects of our social world. Living in a racial hegemony, as a racial minority, presents a myriad of challenges requiring resilience if one is to survive. Much of the resilience attained by African Americans is first gathered through the family, the primary socializing agent. It is quite evident that African American parents understand this reality and racial socialization of their children becomes a critical component of their child-rearing repertoire. Parental racial socialization occurs across three distinct domains and manifests itself in the form of four types of messages which are transmitted using a variety of methods—methods which promote the development of a racial identity. Furthermore, it is apparent that urban, lower-income African American parents engage in racial socialization quite frequently. The majority of racial socialization messages transmitted by these parents contains messages of cultural socialization and is aimed at adolescent children more so than younger children. These messages appear to be important to the cognitive development of children as well as to their self-esteem. Lastly, mothers are more likely to spearhead the racial socialization of their children and to transmit different messages to their child depending on the child's gender.

A lot of what we know about parental racial socialization comes from the experiences, attitudes, actions, and beliefs of lower-income African Americans with adolescent children, living in urban communities. These findings are then extrapolated to *all* African Americans without regard to any within-group differences that may exist. For African American mothers living in predominantly white, suburban communities with elementary-age daughters is the frequency of racial socialization comparable to that found in urban areas, are particular messages highlighted over others, is one mode of transmission utilized more than another, how does the intersection of race, gender, class, geographic location, etc. affect the racial socialization process—these are all questions which have yet to be fully probed. This research study will begin to fill in these gaps in the extant literature.

Theoretical Framework

A sociopsychological framework. The theoretical framework situating the research question and the subsequent analysis is a sociopsychological one—combining both sociological and psychological perspectives. Social psychology has produced the bulk of scholarship in racial socialization and racial identity development followed by counseling psychology and educational psychology while issues of race and racial formation have been largely addressed by the field of sociology. A sociopsychological grounding—which I envision as being more far-reaching and comprehensive than a social psychological orientation—for this work is appropriate for two reasons: First, because it deals with race and "[r]ace always operates at the crossroads of identity and social structure" (Omi & Winant, 2008, p. 1565), this research can be described as being "situated where meaning meets social structure, where identity frames inequality" (Winant, 2000, p. 171); and second, as White (2009) writes, "[n]either approach alone can explain the

dynamic interplay among historical situations, collective ideological interpretations, and individual explanation and analysis" (p. 159).

Intersections perspective. To credibly examine the issues at hand, one must acknowledge the critical importance of the confluence of race, class, gender, age, marital status, and geographic location to the genesis, execution and analysis of this research. Without understanding these social locations and the significance that each has—singularly and collectively—in rendering one's social reality, we fail at producing knowledge that is true to the lived experiences of our participants. Research which negates the affect of these multiple and intersecting locations can only provide approximations of our social world. It is this study's aim to conduct research which conveys the true, lived experiences of its participants. In so doing, an intersections framework is vital to this endeavor. For it not only helps us to better comprehend the intra- and interpersonal components of racial socialization and racial identity, it also provides a vehicle through which we can observe how social systems, structures, and institutions make racial socialization and racial identity viable and necessary features of our social world. Furthermore, Patricia Hill Collins (as cited in Dill & Zambrana, 2009, p. 5) suggests that an intersectional analysis:

> Explores and unpacks relations of domination and subordination, privilege and agency, in the structural arrangements through which various services, resources, and other social rewards are delivered; in the interpersonal experiences of individuals and groups; in the practices that characterize and sustain bureaucratic hierarchies; and in the ideas, images, symbols and ideologies that shape social consciousness.

An intersections approach is critical to this research and will drive the execution and analysis of this undertaking. It scrutinizes the micro and the macro, making both visible and

tangible for the observer. This mixed methods study makes use of focus group interviews and survey questionnaires in order to investigate the personal (micro) and the social (macro). The intersections perspective will help direct the data analysis because it is "a systematic approach to understanding human life and behavior that is rooted in the experiences and struggles of marginalized people" (Dill & Zambrana, 2009, p. 4). Ultimately, this perspective will guide the creation of programs for schools, and possibly for parents, that will help build academic, social, and developmental success for African American children and help lessen the social distance between students of varying racial/ethnic backgrounds. As such, I agree that the intersections approach:

> Combin[es] the different kinds of work that need to be included in the pursuit of social justice: advocacy, analysis, policy development, theorizing, and education. Because intersectional work validates the lives and stories of previously ignored groups of people, it is seen as a tool that can be used to help empower communities and the people in them. Implicitly the production of knowledge offers the potential for creating greater understanding among groups of people. (Dill & Zambrana, 2009, p. 12)

In sum, such a framework is useful in examining how race and racial identity are produced and reproduced at the macro- and micro-levels and in explicating why the attempt to facilitate a positive racial identity in children is a necessity in contemporary American society. It also allows for exploring racial socialization as a gendered practice, one which finds mothers socializing their daughters differently than their sons. The findings from this research may help promote social change and social justice in metropolitan Detroit by bringing students of different backgrounds just a bit closer. Each of these suppositions, it is argued, is beneficial to this research.

Social-cognitive learning theory. Social-cognitive learning theory will provide the psychological prong of this sociopsychological framework. It is concerned with how individuals "operate cognitively on their social experiences and with how these cognitive operations then come to influence their behavior and development" (Grusec, 1992, p. 781). These cognitive operations or information processing systems (such as abstraction, integration, memory, problem-solving, etc.), along with other personal factors (such as affect and biology), impact and are impacted by "behavior patterns and environmental events" (Bussey & Bandura, 1999, p. 685). This is known as Bandura's *triadic reciprocal causation*; it identifies the bidirectional nature and interrelatedness of these three factors while also arguing that the factors "do not have to be of equal strength, nor do they have to occur simultaneously" (Money, 1995, p. 67). The theory weighs, considerably, the reciprocal and interactive nature of the individual, the environment, and behavior to the learning process. Essentially, social-cognitive theory asserts that most of an individual's learning—and therefore their socialization—results from "observation, modeling, vicarious reinforcement, and imitation" (Lesane-Brown, 2006, p. 402). I believe that we do not just passively model/imitate what we see or what we are taught directly or indirectly, but that we process this information; we are cognitively engaged as we model/imitate. So, we attend to and evaluate what has been prescribed and modeled, integrate the information then generate rules or standards for exhibiting behavior and judge our behavior accordingly (Grusec, 1992). For instance, a young African American girl may hear her mother refer to another African American person—who is not blood kin—as "brother" or "sister." The child knows there is no familial relationship shared with the person, yet comes to understand that the terms "brother" or "sister" reflects, for this child's mother, the sentiment that African Americans share a common ancestry and familial-like bond; that each is like a brother/sister to the next.

However, if such a reference occurred in a place of worship, the term heard by the child may take on a different meaning. In this instance the child comes to realize that although the person referred to as brother/sister by her mother also does not share blood kinship, in this environment the term refers to the religious family and the sentiment that this person is like a brother/sister in their religious faith. The child has thus begun to create an algorithm for when to use such terms, in what contexts, and with whom; None of which would have occurred without attention, retention, and reproduction (Bussey & Bandura, 1999).

Social-cognitive learning theory provides a better theoretical fit for grounding this research than say Cooley's triarchic theory of the development of the self because social-cognitive learning theory considers the import of self-regulation in the socialization process. Social-cognitive learning theory argues that:

> People do not behave like weather vanes, constantly shifting their behavior in accord with momentary influences; rather they hold to ideological positions in spite of a changing situation. They can do this because they bring judgmental self-reactions into play whenever they perform an action. (Grusec, 1992, p. 782)

Cooley's theory, on the other hand, supports the idea that "one is likely to shape oneself to fit what one anticipates to be the expected judgments of those whom one is dealing…that [people] shape their social actions according to signals they get from the social mirror into which they are always looking" (Graves, 2000, pp. 275-76). I believe that African American parents attempt to thwart this shaping of one's self according to the social mirror because the social mirror does not provide an accurate reflection of their child to their child or to the broader social world. Parents help their children attain self-regulative functions by transmitting various racial socialization messages.

This theory allows for delving into the process of racial socialization and the examination of how various racial socialization messages may function in promoting a positive racial identity in children. From this theoretical standpoint the frequency and intensity of message type and transmission will be predicated on the fact that these African American mothers are rearing their children in predominantly white educational settings. Also, the use of this theory allows one to discover and examine the modeling mothers engage in so that their daughters observe, imitate and vicariously assess the modeled behavior. Furthermore, such a theory is beneficial in examining "[t]he kinds of behaviors that Black mothers reward and punish in their daughters [which] are seen as key in the socialization process" (Collins, 1997, p. 270). It is my belief that social-learning theory may help then to explain what African American mothers do/say when their daughters who attend predominantly white schools exhibit behaviors that are incongruous with the daughter's racial identity.

The sociopsychological framework situating this research and its analysis is driven by a multilevel intersectionality framework. This sociologically-rooted perspective is vital in understanding how various social locations impact upon parental racial socialization and racial identity development. It is believed that by using the intersections perspective this study will be able to truly examine the micro-, meso-, and macro-level issues linked to this project and will therefore provide a more comprehensive analysis than by just applying/utilizing a social psychological theory. Nevertheless, using the social-cognitive learning theory will enhance this project's theoretical framework by providing a vehicle through which (I believe) the inner workings of the process of parental racial socialization will be laid bare—thus facilitating greater understanding of the roles that race, gender, class, geography, etc. play in parental racial socialization and its affect on racial identity development.

Summary

The theoretical perspective framing this research project is vital in judiciously examining and understanding the strategies mothers use to promote a positive racial identity in their elementary-age daughters. The sociopsychological framework adopted for this project examines the roles of race, class, gender, age, and geographic location—simultaneously—in the development of racial and gender identities. Intersectional perspective demonstrates how race and racial identity are produced and reproduced at the macro- and micro-levels and why the attempt to facilitate a positive racial identity in children is a necessity in contemporary American society. Bandura's social-cognitive learning theory will provide a "roadmap" for the racial socialization process and its influence upon the development of a racial identity, enhancing our understanding of the effects of multiple social locations upon the two processes.

The next chapter delineates the methodology used for this study. It includes a description of the metric used in Phase 1 (the survey) and the types of questions used in Phase 2 (the focus groups). This chapter also briefly introduces the objectives of each technique and associated hypotheses and expected themes, and provides a preview of the analysis that was undertaken.

Chapter 3

Methodology

Research Design

This research study investigating the racial socialization strategies used by suburban African American mothers to promote a positive racial identity in their elementary-age daughters attending predominately white schools used a mixed-methods approach. A mixed-methods approach:

> Is one in which the researcher…employs strategies of inquiry that involve collecting data either simultaneously or sequentially….The data collection also involves gathering both numeric information…as well as text information…so that the final database represent both quantitative and qualitative information. (Creswell, 2003, p. 19-20)

Utilizing both quantitative and qualitative methodologies allowed me to capture data that is valid, reliable, generalizable, and rich in detail; qualities that are extremely important when undertaking research that is situated within the personal, interpersonal and social realms and which explores micro- and macro-processes. Specifically, quantitative methodology provides for amassing large amounts of information quickly—information which gives a general snapshot of

a particular population/topic at a specific moment in time or over various periods. Quantitative methodology is best-suited for direct observables, things that can easily be observed and counted (statistical data); such information is gathered by using numerous research respondents/participants. This type of data paints a picture of our social world using broad strokes; it allows social scientists to speak in generalities—generalities based upon patterns revealed through data analysis. On the other hand, qualitative methodology provides for a depth of understanding which is rich and more specific. Such methodology involves a level of engagement by the researcher and the participant that go beyond the surface. The data amassed is detailed and particular. It is the result of taking general observations and breaking them down to their unique features or components. Qualitative techniques allow for contextualization of observables; we are able to give detail to the picture of our social world. The use of both methodologies will produce a picture of our social world that has breadth and depth and provides for a more veracious and precise comprehension of it. For this study I administered surveys and conducted focus groups.

The survey or questionnaire is "an instrument specifically designed to elicit information that will be useful for analysis" (Babbie, 2005, p. 253). Survey questionnaires are constructed of mainly closed-ended questions. These are questions which ask the participant to respond by selecting an answer provided by the researcher. Phase 1 of the research consisted of the dissemination and completion of the survey. The survey (see Appendix A) was comprised of three existing instruments (the survey is discussed in greater detail in the ensuing pages). It was administered to 106 mothers via the internet, U.S. post, and face-to-face. Again, such a quantitative method provided for the gathering lots of information relative to attitudes, beliefs, values, and behavior associated with racial socialization and identity.

Researchers approach focus groups with an interview schedule to guide the conversation, yet they should be ready to ask qualifying or probative questions and remain sensitive and flexible to new lines of inquiry appearing in the discussion. However, this does not mean that the researcher should allow the discussion to go off on a tangent that is nowhere in the realm of the focus group topic. Focus groups, as Esterberg writes, are "useful when you want to understand group processes—how people arrive at decisions" (2002, p. 109). Phase 2 of the research convened six focus groups and one phone interview. The focus group interview schedule (see Appendix B) consisted of 16 questions, several with sub-questions which had probative value (the focus groups are discussed in greater detail in the ensuing pages). This qualitative method allowed for more fully understanding the process of racial socialization and its impact on racial identity development. Furthermore, focus groups provide examples and anecdotes which help us understand why people hold particular attitudes and beliefs, ascribe to certain values, or engage in various behaviors. The complementary nature of these two techniques permits the acquisition of facts and provides for their dissection and scrutinization. Thus they fit together well because they grant the researcher generality and specificity.

Permission to conduct the research was granted Wayne State University's Human Investigations Committee (see Appendix D). The research protocol requested and received an Expedited Review Approval (HIC# 058110B3E). One amendment to the protocol was made for using the internet for survey completion and two continuances were requested and granted to extend the time for data analysis as the HIC approval was set to expire.

Data

Participants. In this study, the target population were mothers who (a) self-identify as black/African American; (b) live in a predominantly white, middle-class suburb in Macomb,

Oakland, or Wayne County which experienced an increase in its African American population from 2000-2005; and (c) have at least one daughter aged 5-11 who attends a local public or private elementary school. Women fitting these criteria were eligible to participate in the research (Creswell, 1998). These criteria were appropriate because this research focuses on African American mothers with daughters attending predominately white schools. In metro Detroit such schools are mainly located within suburban communities. Additionally, in the U.S. compulsory education begins with kindergarten, all children must receive schooling. Although the numbers of children home-schooled are increasing, kindergarten is usually the first encounter most children may have with the educational institution. School may provide a child's first intimate contact with children of a different racial/ethnic group. African American students attending predominantly white schools "may experience more negative racial encounters than those in predominantly black [ones and]…may experience such encounters at an earlier age than African Americans in predominantly African American [schools]" (Ford & Whiting, 2009). Therefore, the examination of elementary-age students is quite relevant. Since elementary schools usually house grades kindergarten through fifth, this means that children ages 5-10 or 11 attend these schools. It is at about the age of six when children have developed race constancy, the ability to understand that "one's racial group membership is fixed and will not change" (Tatum, 1997, p. 43). Such a development can present challenges for African American parents whose children attend predominantly white schools. These children may experience environments which do not affirm their identities possibly causing them to become conflicted: they realize that their race will not change, yet they are also aware that their skin tone, hair texture and other features do not seem to be valued or preferred. Parents faced with such a situation may attempt to make sure the child sees herself reflected positively in a variety of ways

in an effort to "buffer against the negative images about Blackness offered by the larger society" (Tatum, 1997, p. 34).

Recruitment. One hundred six participants were recruited to complete the survey. Since there was no data base or sampling frame which exists to identify women with the specific criteria mentioned, the two sampling strategies employed for the study were convenience and snowball. According to Singleton and Straits, convenience sampling is a "form of sampling. . . [whereby] the researcher simply selects a requisite number from cases that are conveniently available" (2005, p. 133). Given that I have prior knowledge (as a high school teacher in the Detroit area and membership in parent-teacher networks) of persons who fit the outlined criteria, these contacts were initially approached. I offered these women opportunities to direct other mothers fitting the criteria to the study. Flyers recruiting participants were distributed through friends and family members, and sent to suburban elementary Parent-Teacher Associations/Organizations (PTA/PTO). I personally attended several parent network association meetings to recruit mothers. Also, advertising in church bulletins and visiting Detroit churches allowed me to reach potential participants as religious institutions continue to play an important role in the lives of African Americans (Brown & Brown, 2003) and it appears that many Detroiters who move to the suburbs often retain their places of worship. Lastly, contact was made with civic and professional organizations such as the NAACP and historically black sororities and fraternities who potentially had members fitting the study criteria or outreach programs attracting such persons. Once initial cases were identified, snowball sampling was used as well. Singleton and Straits state that "snowball sampling uses a process of chain referral: When members of the target population are located, they are asked to provide names and addresses of other members of the target population, who are then contacted and asked to name

others, and so on" (2005, p. 138). Therefore, the study began with these individuals and then they were able to direct me to others within the target population. By using these strategies a sufficient number of cases were attained.

Setting. Metropolitan Detroit is comprised of three counties, Wayne, Oakland, and Macomb. According to the U.S. Census, as of 2000 the population for metro Detroit was 4,043,467 (Wayne: 2,061,162; Oakland: 1,194,156 and; Macomb: 788,149). African Americans comprised 42% of Wayne County, 10% of Oakland County, and 2.7% of Macomb County. In 2000 the median household income for Wayne County was $40,776, for Oakland it was $ 61,907, and for Macomb County it was $ 52,102. By 2005 the percentage of African Americans residing in the Oakland & Macomb counties had grown to 12.8% and 7.5%, respectively, while Wayne County's population decreased to 41%.

Table 3.1: Select Demographic Characteristics for Metro Detroit (2010)

	Detroit	**Wayne County**	**Macomb County**	**Oakland County**
Total Population	713,777	1,815,734	841,126	1,203,012
Median Household Income	$25,787	$39,408	$49,160	$60,266
Educational Attainment	53,000 w/ BA or higher	247,850 w/ BA or higher	130,462 w/ BA or higher	345,143 w/ BA or higher
Number of K-12 enrolled children	141,370	342,796	145,992	213,088
Number of Black/African American Females 18 +	237,503	295,936	27,955	69,302

The participants of this study represented all 3 counties with the majority residing in Oakland County.

Data Collection

The survey. Data was collected using a survey (See Appendix A) administered to 106 participants (Phase 1 of the project) from October 2010 to June 2011. The survey instrument for this research was composed of existing instruments whose reliability and validity have already been established. Surveys were conducted via the web, using face-to-face (on the spot) completion, and via the U.S. postal service. A Target® gift card of $5 was given to those who completed the survey. The survey asked questions ascertaining demographic information and included the 53-item Parent-CARES, the 30-item CRIS, and the 43-item WIAS. The final page of the survey packet was a tear-off sheet for those interested in participating in the focus groups (Phase 2). For the on-line version, the last screen before the participant exited the site asked if they would like to participate in Phase 2 of the project. Those indicating interest completed the final screen and their responses were housed in a separate file.

The Parent-CARES measured parents' racial socialization belief/attitudes and experiences along six subscales: *Alertness to Racism, Racial and Religious Coping with Antagonism, Cultural Legacy, Cultural Pride Reinforcement, Internalized Racism,* and *Interracial Coping*. The CRIS measured black racial identity attitudes along six identities: three Pre-Encounter identities (*Assimilation, Miseducation, and Self-Hatred*); one Immersion-Emersion identity (*Anti-White*), and two Internalization identities (*Afrocentricity and Multiculturalist Inclusive*. The WIAS measured womanist identity at four stages: Pre-encounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization. Permission to use the CRIS was granted by William Cross and Howard Stevenson granted permission to use the Parent-CARES (see Appendix C). Permission granting the use of the WIAS was received by Shelly Ossana.

Survey objectives.

I. Measure the frequency of mothers' racial socialization messages (transmitted and received) using the Parents' Cultural and Racial Experiences of Socialization (Parent-CARES) instrument
   a. To establish a baseline for the study's sample population
   b. To determine which messages were received/are transmitted most frequently

II. Categorize the content of mothers' racial socialization messages and identify the various ways that these messages are transmitted using the Parent-CARES
   a. To establish which message types are transmitted
   b. To establish the modes of transmission
   c. To determine whether message content is related to transmission mode

III. Measure mothers' racial identity development using the Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS)
   a. To establish where mothers are in terms of the development of their racial identity
   b. To establish relationships and test the significance between identity attitudes
      i. And message type
      ii. And modes of transmission
   c. To determine whether mother's CRIS identity attitude is related to whether or not she categorizes certain behaviors/expressions of daughter as racially incongruent

IV. Measure mothers' womanist identity development using the Womanist Identity Attitude Scale (WIAS)
   a. To establish where mothers are in terms of the development of their womanist identity
   b. To determine if there is an association between mothers' WIAS identity attitude and CRIS identity attitude

Hypotheses. It is hypothesized that:

H_1. Cultural socialization messages are more likely to be highly endorsed compared to the other message types.
   a) Message type will be significantly related to transmission mode.
   b) Mother's CRIS attitude will predict degree of cultural socialization message endorsement.

H_2. Mothers are more likely to reflect a Multiculturalist Inclusive racial attitude than any other racial attitude.

a) Multiculturalist Inclusive attitude mothers will transmit messages using exposure strategies more than other mode of transmission.

H_3. Mothers reflecting the Internalization Afrocentricity attitude will significantly identify more events/episodes of daughter's behavior deemed incongruous with the daughter's racial identity than mothers reflecting any other CRIS attitude.

H_4. Mothers are more likely to reflect the Internalization stage of the WIAS than any other stage.

a) There will be positive associations between CRIS attitudes and WIAS stages.

The focus groups. The focus groups were convened after the survey data was collected and preliminary analysis had begun. Each focus group was comprised of 2-4 survey participants with a total of 21 mothers. Research demonstrates that groups of 4-6 "allow(s) everyone to participate while still eliciting a range of responses" (Kingry, Tiedje, & Friedman, 1990, p. 124). Furthermore, smaller group size is important when there is *high involvement*. High involvement is generally present when participants are asked questions requiring them to "tell personal stories or express heartfelt opinions…Highly involved participants will get frustrated if they are cut off before they say everything that they have to say; smaller groups increase their opportunity to express themselves fully" (Morgan, Krueger, & King, 1998, p. 73). The questions asked of the focus group participants required relaying anecdotal episodes and having 2-4 mothers in a group gave each a greater opportunity to talk and to fully make their points without feeling rushed. Convening six focus groups (and one phone interview[6]) was a sufficient number as prior research suggests that "as a rule of thumb, four groups, with re-evaluation after the third" (Kingry et al., 1990, p. 124) can lead to "theoretical saturation…achieved when new cases no longer yield new information…and there is little to be gained by doing more groups" (Morgan et al., 1998, p. 78).

Focus group participants were selected from the pool of women volunteering to participate in Phase 2 of the project. They were identified from the tear-off sheet affixed as the

[6] A phone interview was conducted for a mother who wanted to participate but could not make it to any of the scheduled focus groups.

last page of the survey packet or by indicating interest on the last screen of the on-line version. Those interested filled out the sheet and submitted it separately to the principal investigator or completed a separate screen upon indicating their interest in the on-line version. Either way, absolutely no connection was made between survey responses and focus group participants. This sheet/screen asked for first name, telephone number, email address, and dates and times when the women would be available for an uninterrupted, two-hour block of time. The questions posed to the focus groups sought to illuminate the research objectives and expand upon and clarify items assessed by the survey instrument (see Appendix B). The focus groups were convened from June to August 2011 in a conference room on the campus of a large, urban university. The facility was local and offered privacy for audio recording. For those participants attending the focus groups, each was compensated with a $10 gas card.

As focus group participants listened to and commented upon points made by one another, a more detailed picture emerged. In this way, a fruitful dialogue occurred that gave voice to the mothers' experiences with racial socialization messages and racial identity development. Furthermore, I was mindful of Madriz's idea that a focus group is a form of "collective testimony" (2000, p. 842). As such, I aimed to have the participants feel as unfettered as possible in the sharing of their experiences, thoughts, and beliefs. My role was that of a moderator and not as a conductor: consciously minimizing my position while letting the dialogue unfold naturally. When needed, I did interject a question for clarification or in an effort to realign the discussion to the topic at hand. Finally, Esterberg writes that by "enabling women to speak with others who have had similar experiences, focus groups help empower women" (2002, p. 109)—an outcome that I believe is extremely important especially when applying an intersectionality perspective to the research.

Focus group objectives.

I. Use focus groups to establish

   a. How mothers talk about their own racial socialization and identity development experiences

   b. How mothers regard/think about the racialized child-rearing work that they do

   c. How mothers talk about their daughters' racial socialization and identity development

   d. The actions mothers take to socialize their daughters and to help shape their daughters' racial identity

II. Identify the various ways mothers' racial socialization messages are transmitted

III. Identify whether or not there are events/episodes that intensify the racial socialization process

   a. To identify daughters' behavior/expressions deemed racially incongruent by the mothers

   b. To identify what corrective steps—if any—mothers take when they identify certain behaviors/expressions as being racially incongruent.

Possible themes emerging from focus groups.[7] Mothers would couch discussions of child-rearing in terms of preparing daughters to navigate the minority status and Afrocentric domains. I believed mothers would refer to the intersection of race and gender in informing their child-rearing practices and in relaying their own experiences with socialization and identity development through descriptions of "what it means to be a black woman." Mothers also would describe the actions they take to socialize their daughters and to shape their daughters' racial identity in terms of talking to their daughters, modeling for them and exposing their daughters to what it means to be a black girl/woman in a predominantly white setting. Furthermore, mothers would discuss event/episodes when their daughters expressed themselves or behaved in ways that the mothers found to be incongruent with the daughter's racial identity; they will also mention how they addressed the incongruent expressions/behaviors.

[7] One can speculate as to what may unfold when using qualitative techniques, however, the aim is not to test hypotheses.

Data Analysis

The overall analysis is situated within a sociopsychological framework that is guided by the intersections perspective and social-cognitive learning theory. The mixed-methods approach to conducting this research uses a version of what Creswell (2003) terms the "sequential explanatory strategy." The quantitative phase (survey administration) of the study occurred first with the qualitative phase (focus groups) following. Upon collecting the quantitative data I conducted preliminary statistical analyses which allowed me to amend the focus group questions provided in Appendix B. I believed this to be an appropriate procedure as it provides for the elucidation of the statistical findings and allows for the exploration of outliers. Furthermore, such a protocol validates the self-reported behavior of the respondents with actual detailed, examples. Thus, analysis occurred within each method and between the two methods, allowing for qualification of the quantitative data and quantification of the qualitative data (Creswell, 2003).

The survey. The survey instrument used in this research consisted of sociodemographic questions, the 53-item Parent-CARES, the 30-item CRIS, and the 43-item WIAS. The CRIS measure has undergone several studies assessing its reliability and validity. The internal consistency estimates for scores on each of the CRIS subscales based on Cronbach's alpha and standardized coefficients from the confirmatory factor analysis range from .79-.90 (Worrell, Vandiver, & Cross, 2004). Structural validity was established using exploratory factor analysis (EFA) and confirmatory factor analysis (CFA). Exploratory factor analyses:

> Indicated six relatively independent factors (*Mdn* intercorrelation = |.08|) reflecting the CRIS subscales with no cross-loadings above |.33|….[C]onfirmatory factor analysis [produced a] six-factor model which

> resulted in the best fit of the data across a number of alternative models…Factor intercorrelations ranged from |.06| to |.46| (*Mdn* = |.16|), with only two of the 15 correlations above |.30|. (Worrell et al., 2004, p. 5)

Since the Parent-CARES is a unified version of four older instruments, the internal consistency estimates and EFA and CFA results for this revised instrument are currently forthcoming (per personal communication with the developer). However, the four older instruments have previously demonstrated good reliability. It is with confidence in these measures and their reliability and validity that I chose to use both the CRIS and Parent-CARES. The WIAS, when its psychometric properties were tested by Moradi, Yoder, and Berendsen (2004), exhibited internal reliability estimates for each subscale ranging from .31 to .76. However, there were mixed results with regards to the structural validity of the model when CFAs were conducted. This implies that the measure does not provide a good fit for assessing the model. Moradi et al. does offer a salve for the issue when they write that "each stage may be better conceptualized as multidimensional rather than unidimensional…[which] would require revisiting womanist identity development theory to identify various dimensions of each womanist identity stage" (2004, p. 262). Unfortunately, such an exercise could not be taken up in this study. In light of these findings, the WIAS is the only instrument which measures womanist identity development and it is believed that this model and its instrument provide a better fit for examining the black-female identity than the feminist identity model developed by Downing and Roush (1985). Boisnier (2003) provides some evidence for this in her study distinguishing between feminism and womanism among black and white women.

The survey was analyzed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) software. The statistical analyses conducted were: univariate (frequencies, means, and standard

deviations), bivariate (correlations and cross tabulations), and multivariate (multiple regressions). Specifically, sociodemographic variables (e.g., age, income, marital status, etc.) and certain study variables (e.g., establishing frequency of message type and transmission modes) were described using univariate analyses; bivariate analyses were used to examine relationships (e.g., between CRIS and WIAS identities; between message type and CRIS identity; between CRIS identity and mothers who report daughter has expressed self/behaved incongruously); multiple regressions to predict relationships amongst certain study variables (e.g., CRIS attitudes will significantly predict racial socialization message types). The quantitative analyses that were conducted were done to establish whether or not statistical support existed for each of the four hypotheses and their corresponding sub-hypotheses.

The focus groups. Questions guiding the focus groups were developed according to my speculations regarding what themes *may* emerge from the conversations. These speculations were not fanciful but were grounded in this project's theoretical framework and from the review of literature. The qualitative analysis was variable-oriented, calling for me to examine the "interrelations among variables" (Babbie 2005, p. 388) and made use of Glaser's (1978) constant comparative method. For the focus groups the sessions were audio taped and transcribed; Nvivo 9 software aided the qualitative analysis. The transcriptions were coded and the coding was used to ascertain the emerging themes. Codes were initially established based upon concepts that were obvious and appeared immediately across several focus groups. Then codes were established based upon connections to the three major constructs under study: racial socialization messages, racial identity, and gender identity. As codifying began, eventually a race-gender identity theme emerged, as did numerous others expected and unexpected (e.g., racial microaggressions). Themes were connected, not simply identified. Internal validity was ensured

by triangulation of data, peer debriefing, rich, thick description (Creswell, 2003) and member checking. To ensure reliability I maintained a journal detailing this phase of the study, including data collection and analysis procedures.

Connecting Analytic Techniques to Theory

The sociopsychological framework makes use of macro- and micro-level analyses to investigate the strategies African American mothers use to promote a positive racial identity in their elementary-age daughters attending a predominantly white school. The use of focus groups and analysis of the transcripts provides for interpersonal understanding of the racial socialization work that mothers do which influence their daughters' race-gender identity development—an understanding rooted in meta-cognitive social experiences primarily engaged at the micro-level, according to the social-cognitive learning theory. Furthermore, the intersectional perspective values the production of knowledge that emanates from the actors, those whose knowledge claims were once ignored but are now centered and validated; focus groups functioning as "kitchen table testimonies" allows for this process to unfold. The intersectional perspective also provides a vehicle for illuminating structural arrangements that protect and promote the American racial-gender hierarchy as well as narratives that seek to undermine it. The quantitative analyses conducted herein highlight patterns of accommodation and/or resistance to the hierarchy and the arrangements that prop it up. These social patterns may be reflected in the larger population of suburban Detroit, middle class African American mothers. Fundamentally, the sociopsychological orientation necessitates the marrying of quantitative and qualitative methodologies to present a more holistic execution and analysis of the study's central research question.

Chapter 4

Survey Results

The analysis of survey data is presented in this chapter. The survey instrument is comprised of 34 sociodemographic questions, the 53-item Parent-CARES (including 10 open-ended questions), the 40-item CRIS, and the 43-item WIAS-R. The Parent-CARES was used to measure parental racial socialization message transmission frequency and parental reception frequency along six subscales: *Alertness to Racism, Racial and Religious Coping with Antagonism, Cultural Legacy, Cultural Pride Reinforcement, Internalized Racism,* and *Interracial Coping*. The CRIS measured black racial identity attitudes along six identities: three Pre-Encounter identities (*Assimilation, Miseducation, and Self-Hatred*); one Immersion-Emersion identity (*Anti-White*), and two Internalization identities (*Afrocentricity and Multiculturalist Inclusive*. The WIAS-R measured womanist identity at four stages: *Pre-encounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion,* and *Internalization*.

This chapter begins by exploring select sociodemographic variables collected by the instrument as a way to build a narrative about the participants comprising the sample. The instrument itself is discussed in greater detail in this chapter as well. The four hypotheses tested

are explained in detail by presentation of the independent and dependent variables associated with each. The results of the survey data are presented with simple frequencies and data trends, initially, then moves on to examination of relationships amongst particular variables of interest, followed by examining more complex, predictive relationships, ultimately arriving at a deep analysis.

Univariate Analyses

Sociodemographic variables. One hundred and six respondents completed the survey. Each respondent fit the four eligibility criterion: (a) mothers who; (b) self-identify as black/African American; (c) live in a predominantly white, middle-class suburb in Macomb, Oakland, or Wayne County which experienced an increase in its African American population from 2000-2005; and (d) have at least one daughter aged 5-11 who attends a local public or private elementary school. The average age of the mothers was 39.17 years (*SD* = 6.22). Ninety-six percent of the mothers identified their race/ethnicity as Black/African American (See Table 4.1). Oakland is the county where 71.7% of the mothers resided. Twenty-eight percent of the mothers report their annual household income as $75,001-$100,000. The majority (77.4%) of mothers was married at the time of their participation and 59% of the women had raised/was raising at least one daughter. An overwhelming majority (70%) had attained a Bachelor's Degree or higher. Lastly, over 81% of the mothers surveyed reported their daughter's grade point average (GPA) as 3.50 or higher.

Table 4.1: Select Descriptive Characteristics of Mothers in the Study

Variable	Category	Valid Percentage
Racial/ethnic background	Black/African American	96.2
	Black/African	1.9
	Biracial	0.9
	Other: Black American	0.9
Marital Status	Never married	10.4
	Married	77.4
	Separated	1.9
	Divorced	10.4
Religious Affiliation	Christian	30.2
	Baptist	23.6
	Non-denominational	7.5
	Methodist	6.6
	Lutheran	4.7
	AME	4.7
	Pentecostal	3.8
Educational Attainment	High School	7.5
	Vocational/Technical School	4.7
	Community College/Associates Degree	17.9
	College/Bachelors Degree	27.4
	Advanced Degree (ex. MD, MA, JD)	42.5
Household Income	Under $15,000	1.9
	$15,001 - $25,000	2.9
	$25,001 - $50,000	18.4

	$50,001 - $75,000	12.6
	$75,001 - $100,000	28.2
	$100,001 - $125,000	10.7
	$125,001 - $200,000	16.5
	$200,001 or above	8.7
County	Macomb	13.2
	Oakland	71.7
	Wayne	14.2
Number of girls raised	One	59.4
	Two	32.1
	Three	6.6
	Four	1.9
	Five or more	0.0
Daughter's Current GPA	2.50-2.74	2.0
	2.75-2.99	5.0
	3.00-3.24	4.0
	3.25-3.49	7.9
	3.50-3.74	23.8
	3.75-3.99	41.6
	4.00 or higher	15.8

Racial socialization. To ascertain which message types were transmitted and the modes of transmission, mothers completed the Parents' Cultural and Racial Experiences of Socialization (CARES) for parents and caregivers (Stevenson and Bentley, 2007). The Parent-CARES measures parental message transmission frequency, parental reception frequency, and gender-specific racial socialization along six subscales: *Alertness to Racism, Racial and Religious Coping with Antagonism, Cultural Legacy, Cultural Pride Reinforcement, Internalized Racism,* and *Interracial Coping*. The higher the score on a subscale, the higher the degree of endorsement of that message type. Again, being mindful of Hughes et al.'s suggestion of precision and specificity in conducting research in this area, it is necessary to relate how the Parent-CARES subscales reflect the four broad message types (See Figure 4.1). Cultural socialization messages are represented by the *Cultural Legacy* and *Cultural Pride Reinforcement* subscales; Preparation for bias messages are reflected in the *Alertness to Racism* and *Racial and Religious Coping with Antagonism* subscales; and Promotion of mistrust messages are embodied in the *Interracial Coping* subscale. None of the Parent-CARES

subscales specifically reflect Egalitarian messages, and the *Internalized Racism* subscale does not characterize any of the aforementioned message types. As a result, Egalitarian messages were not measured by the study instrument; however, the Internalized Racism subscale stands as its own type of message.

Figure 4.1: Relationship between Existing Typologies and Parent-CARES Subscales

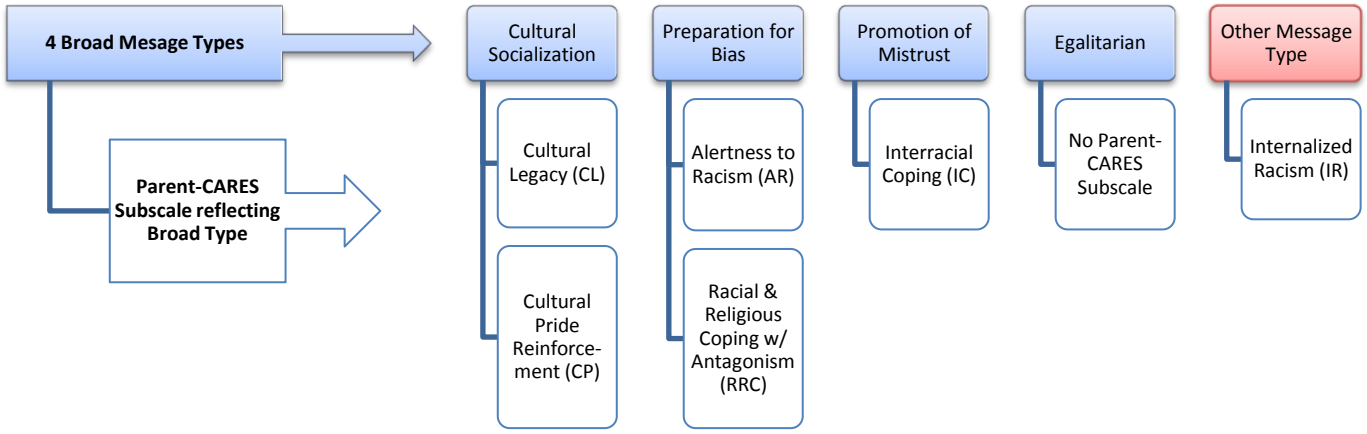


Table 4.2: Examples of Parent-CARES Message Types

Message Type	Statement Exemplifying Message Type
Cultural Legacy	"To be Black is to be connected to a history that goes back to African royalty."
Cultural Pride	"Don't forget who your people are because you may need them someday."
Alertness to Racism	"Racism is real, and you have to understand it or it will hurt you."
Racial & Religious Coping with Antagonism	"Going to a Black school will help Black children feel better about themselves." "A belief in God can help a person deal with tough life struggles."
Interracial Coping	"You have to watch what you say in front of White people."
Internalized Racism	"Black people are their own worst enemy."

Prevalence of racial socialization using Parent-CARES. Using question number one from section two of the Parent-CARES instrument as a metric for the prevalence of racial socialization, 90% of mothers reported transmitting the message that "You should be proud to be Black" and 87% reported receiving the message "You should be proud to be Black" (See Tables

4.3 & 4.4, respectively). By comparison, Lesane-Brown (2006) reports that previous studies have found "63.6% of parents reported transmitting race socialization messages to their children" and that 79% of black adults "recalled discussing racial issues with their parents while growing up" (p. 405). Racial socialization seems to be a common task for African American parents across the nation, as well as for the mothers participating in this study. That overwhelming majorities report racially socializing their daughters and receiving racial socialization messages, points to the salient role of race in their histories and everyday experiences.

Table 4.3: Frequencies Demonstrating Prevalence of Racial Socialization (Parental Transmission)

How often do you tell your daughter: You should be proud to be Black.					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Never	10	9.4	10.1	10.1
	A few times	30	28.3	30.3	40.4
	Lots of times	59	55.7	59.6	100.0
	Total	99	93.4	100.0	
Missing	System	7	6.6		
Total		106	100.0		

Table 4.4: Frequencies Demonstrating Prevalence of Racial Socialization (Parental Reception)

How often were YOU told this while you were growing up: You should be proud to be Black.					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Never	13	12.3	13.1	13.1
	A few times	29	27.4	29.3	42.4
	Lots of times	57	53.8	57.6	100.0
	Total	99	93.4	100.0	
Missing	System	7	6.6		
Total		106	100.0		

An examination of the parental transmission frequencies for the six Parent-CARES message types also demonstrates the prevalence of racial socialization practices engaged in by mothers of this study (See Table 4.5). For all but one of the six message types, the

overwhelming majority of mothers report transmitting the various racial socialization messages "a few times." Sixty-six percent of mothers report transmitting cultural legacy messages "a few times" while 93.4% of mothers report transmitting interracial coping messages to the same degree. In examining Table 4.5 it is interesting to note that no mother indicated that she has not transmitted an interracial coping message. Living in a predominantly white community—or better yet, majority white nation—requires that mothers instruct daughters how to manage inevitable interracial relationships. For the internalized racism message, approximately 100% of mothers report never transmitting it. When examining the mothers' reported reception frequencies for the six Parent-CARES subscales, the case for the high prevalence of racial socialization practices is augmented (See Table 4.6). The majority of mothers report having received all of the six Parent-CARES message types to some degree.

Table 4.5: Reported Parent-CARES Parental Transmission Frequencies

Message Type	Never	A Few Times	Lots of Times
	%	%	%
Cultural Legacy	8.5	66.0	25.5
Cultural Pride	5.7	70.8	23.6
Alertness to Racism	24.5	69.8	5.7
Racial & Religious Coping with Antagonism	4.7	82.1	13.2
Interracial Coping	0.0	93.4	6.6
Internalized Racism	100	0.0	0.0

Table 4.6: Reported Parent-CARES Parental Reception Frequencies

Message Type	Never	A Few Times	Lots of Times
	%	%	%
Cultural Legacy	2.8	27.4	69.8
Cultural Pride	1.9	73.6	24.5
Alertness to Racism	0.0	24.5	75.5
Racial & Religious Coping with Antagonism	0.0	79.2	20.8
Interracial Coping	0.0	85.5	14.2
Internalized Racism	87.7	12.3	0.0

Seventy-four percent of mothers report receiving cultural pride messages "a few times," 76% report receiving alertness to racism messages "lots of times," and 12% of mothers report receiving internalized racism messages. Not one mother reported not receiving alertness to racism, racial & religious coping, or interracial coping messages. These three message types speak to the inevitability of managing interracial relationships and developing coping strategies for existing and thriving in a racist society. A comparison of these Tables 4.5 and 4.6 demonstrates a generational difference in the rate at which various messages were received by mothers and subsequently transmitted to their daughters. For example, mothers do not report transmitting these six message types with great intensity as evidenced by the majority reporting only doing so "a few times" as opposed to "lots of times"; however, mothers report receiving cultural legacy and alertness to racism messages with greater intensity than they transmit them. We could speculate that the rate at which mothers transmit messages is less, due in part to the young age of their daughters and the fact that experiences with racism and discrimination were perhaps not as pronounced and persistent for these mothers as they most likely were for their parents. Additionally, some mothers may believe that to constantly socialize daughters around racial issues may have a deleterious impact upon daughter's self-esteem and self-concept.

Extent of racial socialization for each Parent-CARES message type. As stated previously the Parent-CARES measures parental message transmission frequency, parental reception frequency, and gender-specific racial socialization along six subscales. These six subscales (*Cultural Legacy [CL], Cultural Pride Reinforcement [CP], Alertness to Racism [AR], Racial and Religious Coping with Antagonism [RRC], Interracial Coping [IC]* and *Internalized Racism [IR]*) reflect three of the four broad message types found in the extant literature: CL & CP reflect Cultural Socialization, AR and RRC reflect Preparation for Bias, and IC reflects

Promotion of Mistrust. The fourth broad category, Egalitarian, is not explicitly measured by the Parent-CARES and the fifth subscale IR, is not reflected in the four broad categories, therefore it is treated as a stand-alone category for the purposes of these analyses. "In order to determine the extent of socialization for each subscale, [the scores were added] for each of the corresponding items [then divided according to the number of items] to create one total score [ranging from 1.0 to 3.0]….The higher the score, the higher the degree of endorsement of racial socialization around [a particular message type]" (Stevenson & Bentley, 2007, p. 9). Table 4.7 shows the averages for each of the six subscales as well as reports Cronbach's alpha for each scale. It was hypothesized that Cultural Socialization messages (which encompass CL & CP) were more likely to receive higher degrees of endorsement than any other message type. Examining the means demonstrates support for this hypothesis. Means closer to 1 ("never") reflect no endorsement; means closer to 2 ("a few times") reflect moderate endorsement; and means closer to 3 ("lots of times") reflect a high degree of endorsement. Clearly, the Cultural Pride and Cultural Legacy messages have higher means than the others thus demonstrating that mothers endorsed racial socialization around these message types more than they did the others. The Internalized Racism message type required reverse coding (with 3 reflecting "never" as opposed to "lots of times"), translating into no degree of endorsement for this type of message. Table 4.8 demonstrates the same outcome by combining the Parent-CARES subscales as a reflection of the broad message types, and reports Cronbach's alpha for each combined scale.

Table 4.7: Level of Endorsement of Parent-CARES Subscales as Reflected by Means

		Cultural Legacy	Cultural Pride	Alertness To Racism	Racial Religious Coping	Interracial Coping	Internalized Racism
N	Valid	106	106	106	106	106	106
	Missing	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mean		**1.7665**	**1.7798**	1.4186	1.6019	1.6606	2.9153
Median		1.7665	1.7798	1.4186	1.5556	1.6606	2.9231
Mode		2.14	1.78	1.00	1.44	1.44	3.00
Std. Deviation		.45934	.44139	.36769	.34653	.19898	.13803
Cronbach's α		.832	.853	.849	.728	.657	.722

Table 4.8: Level of Endorsement of Parent-CARES Subscales Transformed to Reflect Three Broad Message Types

		CultSocFrq (CL +CP)	PrepForBias (AR + RRC)	PromotMistrust (IC)	InterRacism (IR)
N	Valid	106	106	106	106
	Missing	0	0	0	0
Mean		**1.7731**	1.5102	1.6606	2.9153
Median		1.7731	1.4563	1.6606	2.9231
Mode		1.77	1.51	1.44	3.00
Std. Deviation		.41649	.32062	.19898	.13803
Minimum		1.00	1.00	1.44	2.46
Maximum		2.73	2.17	2.33	3.00
Cronbach's α		.830	.758	.657	.722

As mothers prepare their daughters to survive and excel in a predominantly white school and community while training them to take their places as caretakers of the African American community, messages of cultural legacy and pride become imperative (Brown, Linver, Evans and DeGennaro 2009; Dotterer, McHale and Crouter 2009; Hill 2001; Thomas and King 2007). Understanding and appreciating one's cultural heritage and possessing pride for one's race are paramount in preparing the next generation of *foot soldiers*—young women who will actively work to better their communities and who will have a sense of responsibility to their fellow black

brothers and sisters. One must be anchored in the history of the past and the possibilities of the future to uplift the community.

Transmission modes. Racial socialization messages are transmitted via *modeling*, *exposure*, *role-playing* and *verbal communication* (Coard et al., 2004; Hughes et al., 2006; Lesane-Brown, 2006). Modeling consists of demonstrating behavior to be imitated (e.g. proper cultural etiquette when interacting with elders). Exposure is bringing the child into contact with various environments or social situations (e.g. attending culturally-specific/Afrocentric activities or celebrations). Role-playing is the acting out of a specific role when faced with a particular situation or setting (e.g. having the "child respond with desirable behaviors to hypothetical situations" (Coard et al., 2004). Verbal communication is the use of direct or indirect conversations. A section in the survey instrument was created for mothers to identify how they transmitted each of the 53 statements. Mothers were asked "How do you convey this message: Show, Role-play, Tell, Exposure through events, trips, etc.?" Mothers could select as many modalities as they believed they used in transmitting particular statements. The word "show" was chosen as a substitute for *modeling*, "tell" was chosen as a substitute for *verbal communication*, role-play was left as is; however "exposure through events, trips, etc." was substituted for mere *exposure* in an effort to have mothers clearly reflect upon this modality. Table 4.9 demonstrates transmission mode frequencies for the six Parent-CARES subscales.

Table 4.9: Transmission Mode Frequencies

Message Type	Transmission Mode	No %	Yes %
Cultural Legacy (CL)	Show*	27.6	**72.4**
	Role-Play	65.7	34.3
	Tell	39.0	61.0
	Expose	28.6	71.4
Cultural Pride (CP)	Show*	17.1	**82.9**
	Role-Play	65.7	34.3
	Tell	23.8	76.2
	Expose	24.8	75.2
Alertness to Racism (AR)	Show*	39.6	**60.4**
	Role-Play	72.6	27.4
	Tell	50.9	49.1
	Expose	68.9	31.1
Racial & Religious Coping with Antagonism (RRC)	Show*	29.2	**70.8**
	Role-Play	50.9	49.1
	Tell	32.1	67.9
	Expose	64.2	35.8
Interracial Coping (IC)	Show*	46.7	**53.3**
	Role-Play	71.4	28.6
	Tell	50.5	49.5
	Expose	52.4	47.6
Internalized Racism (IR)	Show*	64.8	**35.2**
	Role-Play	89.5	10.5
	Tell	74.3	25.7
	Expose	82.9	17.1

For each of the six Parent-CARES message types, mothers reported that they most frequently transmitted each message type using the show modality. Mothers use the strategy of showing most often when transmitting racial socialization messages to their daughters. As mothers "do gender" (Bentley et. al, 2009) they are truly modeling for their daughters the behaviors/messages that they believe and express as being important for their girls to imitate. It appears that mothers understand that we attend to and evaluate what has been prescribed and modeled for us, thereby integrating the information and generating rules or standards for exhibiting and judging our behavior accordingly (Grusec, 1992). According to Bussey and Bandura (1999) the attention, retention, and reproduction that daughters engage in during the socialization process will allow them to successfully imitate the desired behavior. It is interesting to note that for the Cultural Legacy & Cultural Pride messages, the next most

common modes were exposure and telling, respectively. Transmitting cultural legacy messages via exposure is a logical occurrence as part of the transmission of this message would effectively require taking daughters to cultural events, museums, programs, etc. to convey the importance of knowing one's heritage. Such exposure would present aspects of the African American legacy historically, theatrically, and/or, oratorically using a variety of mediums—an undertaking that would be very difficult to accomplish just within the confine of one's home. Additionally, the use of verbal communication to convey cultural pride messages reflects the importance of instilling racial pride in young girls so that they may take their place as caretakers of the community. Although cultural pride messages are transmitted primarily via modeling for these mothers, the use of direct, verbal communication seems to be just as important of a strategy.

Racial identity development.

Using the Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS). The Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS) is the instrument created to assess black identity development according to William Cross' (2001) expanded Nigrescence theory model (NT-E or Nigrescence Theory-Expanded). In this manifestation:

> Black racial identity is defined as a multidimensional set of attitudes which fall under three worldviews: Pre-encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization. Pre-encounter attitudes…include Assimilation (endorsing being American more than African American), Miseducation (accepting negative societal stereotypes about African Americans), and Self-hatred (being unhappy that on is African American). Immersion-Emersion attitudes…are Intense Black Involvement (uncritical and intense support for everything considered Black or African American) and Anti-White (strong negative attitudes toward majority group members). All the Internalization attitudes reflect the

> acceptance of and positive attitudes toward being Black…[they] include Afrocentricity (accepting and living by Afrocentric principles), Biculturalist (privileging one's Black identity and *one* other identity; e.g., being Black and a woman), Multiculturalist Racial (accepting Black culture and cultures of other oppressed groups like Latinos and American Indians), and Multiculturalist Inclusive (accepting and respecting Black culture and all other cultural groups, including Whites and gays and lesbians. (Simmons, Worrell and Berry 2008, pp. 262-63)

It is a 40-item instrument that measures all of the Nigrescence attitudes except for Intense Black Involvement, Biculturalist, and Multiculturalist Racial.

Extent of endorsement of CRIS identity attitudes. There are six CRIS subscales which represent racial identity attitudes "[which are not] mutually exclusive…[but provide each individual who completes it] six scores—one for each CRIS subscale—making up their CRIS profile" (Worrell et. al, 2004, p. 13). Table 4.10 reflects the CRIS profile for the sample. It was hypothesized that mothers of this study would demonstrate a higher degree of endorsement for the Multiculturalist Inclusive attitude over any other CRIS attitude. Degree of endorsement ranged from 1 to 7 (from "Strongly Disagree" to "Strongly Agree"). Examination of the means for the six CRIS subscales supports the assertion that mothers had a stronger degree of endorsement for the Multiculturalist Inclusive attitude (M=4.95, SD=1.15) [See Table 4.10]. A mean of 4.95 suggests that mothers endorsed this attitude most strongly, followed by Assimilation (M=2.99, SD=1.42), and Miseducation (M=2.95, SD=1.14). The Multiculturalist Inclusive attitude is situated within the Internalization world view. It is theorized that "Internalization attitudes accord high and positive salience to Blackness" (Worrell, 2008, p. 158).

Table 4.10: Level of Endorsement of CRIS Attitudes as Represented by the Means

		Assimilation	Miseducation	Self-Hatred	Anti-White	Afrocentricity	Multiculturalist Inclusive
N	Valid	106	106	106	106	106	106
	Missing	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mean		2.9871	2.9543	1.8000	1.4889	2.9333	**4.9457**
Median		2.9871	2.9543	1.4000	1.4000	2.9333	4.9457
Mode		1.20[a]	2.95	1.00	1.00	2.93	4.95
Std. Deviation		1.41847	1.13845	1.00323	.67053	1.20528	1.14513
Minimum		1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.20
Maximum		6.80	5.80	5.00	4.40	6.80	6.80
Cronbach's α		.895	.796	.896	.920	.875	.859

a. Multiple modes exist. The smallest value is shown

This study's finding of the highest degree of endorsement within the Internalization worldview is consistent with the role the mother's racial identity development plays in her socialization practices—socializing her elementary-age daughter within a predominantly white school and community while simultaneously seeking to promote a positive racial identity within her. A high degree of endorsement of the Multiculturalist Inclusive attitude means that these mothers "somewhat agree" with statements such as: "I believe it is important to have both a Black identity and a multicultural perspective, which is inclusive of everyone (e.g., Asians, Latinos, gays & lesbians, Jews, Whites, etc.)"; "I embrace my own Black identity, but I also respect and celebrate the cultural identities of other groups (e.g., Native Americans, Whites, Latinos, Jews, Asian Americans, gays & lesbians, etc.)"; and "I believe it is important to have both a Black identity and a multicultural perspective, because this connects me to other groups (Hispanics, Asian-Americans, Whites, Jews, gays & lesbians, etc.)". Agreeing with such statements demonstrates the importance of a black identity that is situated within a larger multicultural

context—mothers understand and appreciate their blackness, yet are cognizant of the global community that they inhabit.

The Assimilation and Miseducation attitudes are situated within the Pre-Encounter world view. It is theorized that the "Pre-Encounter frame of reference includes attitudes in which being Black is given low or negative salience" (Worrell, 2008, p. 158). Statements that reflect this world view are ones such as: "I think of myself primarily as an American, and seldom as a member of a racial group"; "If I had to put a label on my identity, it would be "American," and not African American"; "Blacks place more emphasis on having a good time than on hard work"; and "Many African Americans are too lazy to see opportunities that are right in front of them." A mean of 2.99 and 2.95, respectively, demonstrates that these mothers "somewhat disagree" with such statements. From these averages for Assimilation and Miseducation attitudes it can be surmised that mothers somewhat reject the above notions; a rejection in line with possessing a positive regard for one's blackness and its centrality in a larger multicultural framework.

Gender identity development.

Gender identity development using the Womanist Identity Attitudes Scale-Revised (WIAS-R). The Womanist Identity Attitudes Scale-Revised (WIAS-R) measures a female's gender identity development. The WIAS-R is the instrument developed from Helms' (1990) Womanist Identity Model. This model is based upon Cross' Nigrescence theory. Women develop their identity through a stage-wise progression. There are four stages to the model: Pre-encounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization. A healthy womanist identity is found in the Internalization stage where the woman possesses a worldview which moves away "from an externally and societally based definition of womanhood to an internal definition in

which the woman's own values, beliefs, and abilities determine the quality of her womanhood" (Ossana, Helms, & Leonard, 1992, p. 403). Ossana et al. (1992) developed the Womanist Identity Attitudes Scale (WIAS) to assess the attitudes associated with Helms' model. According to Moradi et al. (2004) "items are rated on a 5-point scale that ranges from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (5). For each subscale, item ratings are averaged to yield a subscale score. Higher scores indicate greater agreement with the attitudes reflected by that subscale" (p. 255). Table 4.11 demonstrates the level of agreement for each identity attitude. It was hypothesized that mothers would reflect a higher level of agreement with the Internalization attitude over the other three. Table 4.11 supports this hypothesis as we see a mean score of 4.02 for the Internalization attitude demonstrating that mothers in this study agree the most with this identity attitude. Statements which reflect this attitude would be ones such as: "Being a member of the female sex is a source of pride to me" and "I believe that being a woman has caused me to have many strengths."

Table 4.11: Level of Endorsement of the WIAS-R Attitudes as Represented by Means

		Pre-Encounter	Encounter	Immersion-Emersion	Internalization
N	Valid	106	106	106	106
	Missing	0	0	0	0
Mean		2.2476	2.5346	2.2762	**4.0180**
Median		2.2476	2.5346	2.2762	4.0180
Mode		2.25	2.53	2.28	4.09
Std. Deviation		.47842	.46301	.41451	.47056
Minimum		1.57	1.50	1.53	1.36
Maximum		3.86	4.13	3.13	4.82
Cronbach's α		.652	.589	.771	.770

Bivariate Analyses

In this section cross tabulations and correlations were used to examine four different associations. Cross tabulations were used to: examine the association between message type and transmission mode; examine the association between CRIS racial identity attitude and transmission mode; and to examine the relationship between CRIS racial identity attitude and

reports of daughter exhibiting incongruent race behavior. Correlations were used to investigate the relationship between CRIS racial identity attitude and WIAS-R attitude.

Associations between Parent-CARES message type and message transmission mode. To establish whether message type is associated with mode of transmission, six cross tabulations were created. It is useful to identify whether or not associations between a particular subscale and the four modes of transmission exist. In order to examine the existence of associations, cross tabulations were analyzed.

Table 4.12: Degree of Cultural Legacy Endorsement by Transmission Mode Frequency Crosstab

			CL degree		
			Moderate Endorsement	**No Endorsement**	**Strong Endorsement**
CLShow	**No**	Count	20	7	2
		Column Total N %	28.6%	77.8%	7.4%
	Yes	Count	49	2	25
		Column Total N %	70.0%	22.2%	92.6%
	Total	Count	69	9	27
		Column Total N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
CLRole Play	**Yes**	Count	24	0	12
		Column Total N %	34.3%	0.0%	44.4%
	No	Count	45	9	15
		Column Total N %	64.3%	100.0%	55.6%
	Total	Count	69	9	27
		Column Total N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
CLTell	**No**	Count	32	8	1
		Column Total N %	45.7%	88.9%	3.7%
	Yes	Count	37	1	26
		Column Total N %	52.9%	11.1%	96.3%
	Total	Count	69	9	27
		Column Total N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
CLExpose	**No**	Count	22	7	1
		Column Total N %	31.4%	77.8%	3.7%
	Yes	Count	47	2	26
		Column Total N %	67.1%	22.2%	96.3%
	Total	Count	69	9	27
		Column Total N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Pearson Chi-Square Tests					
		Show	Role Play	Tell	Expose
CL degree	Chi-square	16.909	5.940	25.122	19.230
	df	2	2	2	2
	Sig.	.000*	.051	.000*	.000*
	Cramer's V	.401†	.238	.489†	.428†
	Contingency Coefficient	.372†	.231	.439†	.393†
Results are based on nonempty rows and columns in each innermost subtable.					
*. The Chi-square statistic is significant at the .05 level.					
†Symmetric Measure Value is significant at .05 level					

Table 4.12 reflects the associations between the degree of endorsement of Cultural Legacy messages and transmission mode frequencies. The chi-square tests for CL and modes of transmission frequency demonstrate that there are statistically significant positive associations between endorsement of the CL message and three of the four transmission modes. Cramer's V demonstrates that the associations between degree of CL message endorsement and the modes of telling, exposing, & showing are moderate [χ^2 (2, N=105) = 25.122, p<.001; χ^2 (2, N=105) = 19.230, p<.001; χ^2 (2, N=105) = 16.909, p<.001], while the association between CL message endorsement and the role-play mode is not statistically significant. To analyze the crosstab further we can interpret the effect size by calculating the odds ratio:

$$odds_{strong\ endorsement} = \frac{\#transmitting\ using\ specific\ mode}{\#not\ using\ specific\ mode}$$

$$odds_{moderate\ endorsement} = \frac{\#transmitting\ using\ specific\ mode}{\#not\ using\ specific\ mode}$$

$$odds\ ratio = \frac{odds\ strong\ endorsement}{odds\ moderate\ endorsement}$$

Based on the odds ratio, the odds of transmitting CL messages using the show mode were 5.1 times higher if the mother had a strong degree of endorsement versus a moderate degree; strong endorsement makes the use of the exposure mode 12.1 times higher; and mothers strongly endorsing CL messages were 22.4 times more likely to transmit them using the tell mode as compared to mothers with a moderate endorsement. The table also demonstrates how many mothers stated that they never conveyed CL messages, yet they went on to mark a mode of transmission. Unfortunately, participant error does play a role in fully understanding the survey results.

Table 4.13 reflects the associations between the degree of endorsement of Cultural Pride messages and transmission mode frequencies. The chi-square tests for CP and modes of transmission frequency demonstrate that there is a statistically significant positive association between endorsement of the CP message and only one of the four transmission modes. Cramer's

V demonstrates that the association between degree of CP message endorsement and tell mode is moderate [χ^2 (2, N=105) = 20.376, p<.001].

Table 4.13: Degree of Cultural Pride Endorsement by Transmission Mode Frequency Crosstab

			CPdegree		
			Moderate Endorsement	**No Endorsement**	**Strong Endorsement**
CPShow	**No**	Count	13	2	3
		Column Total N %	17.3%	33.3%	12.0%
	Yes	Count	61	4	22
		Column Total N %	81.3%	66.7%	88.0%
	Total	Count	74	6	25
		Column Total N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
CPRole Play	**Yes**	Count	24	0	12
		Column Total N %	32.0%	0.0%	48.0%
	No	Count	50	6	13
		Column Total N %	66.7%	100.0%	52.0%
	Total	Count	74	6	25
		Column Total N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
CPTell	**No**	Count	14	6	5
		Column Total N %	18.7%	100.0%	20.0%
	Yes	Count	60	0	20
		Column Total N %	80.0%	0.0%	80.0%
	Total	Count	74	6	25
		Column Total N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
CPExpose	**No**	Count	20	3	3
		Column Total N %	26.7%	50.0%	12.0%
	Yes	Count	54	3	22
		Column Total N %	72.0%	50.0%	88.0%
	Total	Count	74	6	25
		Column Total N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Pearson Chi-Square Tests					
		Show	Role Play	Tell	Expose
CP degree	Chi-square	1.582	5.330	20.376	4.441
	df	2	2	2	2
	Sig.	.453[a]	.070[a]	.000[a,*]	.109[a]
	Cramer's V	.123	.225	.441[†]	.206
	Contingency Coefficient	.122	.220	.443[†]	.201
Results are based on nonempty rows and columns in each innermost subtable.					
*. The Chi-square statistic is significant at the .05 level.					
[†]Symmetric Measure Value is significant at .05 level					
a. More than 20% of cells in this subtable have expected cell counts less than 5. Chi-square results may be invalid.					

Based on the odds ratio, the odds of transmitting CP messages using the tell mode were slightly less likely (.93) for mothers with a strong endorsement as compared to mothers with a moderate endorsement. These results need to be interpreted with caution. The chi-square approximation

may not be satisfactory in this case as more than 20% of expected cell frequencies are less than five (Elliot and Woodward, 2007). However, in the case of no endorsement, one should find zeros under the "yes" count for the various modes; if you don't endorse a message at all (reported that you never convey it), it stands to reason that you should have marked "no" when reporting the modes of transmission.

Table 4.14 reflects the associations between the degree of endorsement of Alertness to Racism messages and transmission mode frequencies. The chi-square tests for AR and modes of transmission frequency demonstrate that there are statistically significant positive associations between endorsement of the AR message and all four transmission modes. Cramer's V demonstrates that the associations between degree of AR message endorsement and the modes of showing, role-play, and telling are moderate [χ^2 (2, N=106) = 30.846, $p<.05$; χ^2 (2, N=106) = 17.208, $p<.05$; χ^2 (2, N=106) = 24.713, $p<.05$], while the association between AR message endorsement and exposure is weak [χ^2 (2, N=106) = 10.304, $p<.001$].

Table 4.14: Degree of Alertness to Racism Endorsement by Transmission Mode Frequency Crosstab

			ARdegree		
			Moderate Endorsement	No Endorsement	Strong Endorsement
ARShow	**No**	Count	20	22	0
		Column Total N %	27.0%	84.6%	0.0%
	Yes	Count	54	4	6
		Column Total N %	73.0%	15.4%	100.0%
	Total	Count	74	26	6
		Column Total N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
ARRole Play	**Yes**	Count	23	1	5
		Column Total N %	31.1%	3.8%	83.3%
	No	Count	51	25	1
		Column Total N %	68.9%	96.2%	16.7%
	Total	Count	74	26	6
		Column Total N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
ARTell	**Yes**	Count	45	2	5
		Column Total N %	60.8%	7.7%	83.3%
	No	Count	29	24	1
		Column Total N %	39.2%	92.3%	16.7%
	Total	Count	74	26	6
		Column Total N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
ARExpose	**Yes**	Count	30	2	1
		Column Total N %	40.5%	7.7%	16.7%
	No	Count	44	24	5
		Column Total N %	59.5%	92.3%	83.3%
	Total	Count	74	26	6
		Column Total N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Pearson Chi-Square Tests					
		Show	Role Play	Tell	Expose
AR degree	Chi-square	30.846	17.208	24.713	10.304
	df	2	2	2	2
	Sig.	.000[*,b]	.000[*,b]	.000[*,b]	.006[*,b]
	Cramer's V	.539[†]	.403[†]	.483[†]	.312[†]
	Contingency Coefficient	.475[†]	.374[†]	.435[†]	.298[†]
Results are based on nonempty rows and columns in each innermost subtable.					
*. The Chi-square statistic is significant at the .05 level.					
[†]Symmetric Measure Value is significant at .05 level					
b. More than 20% of cells in this subtable have expected cell counts less than 5. Chi-square results may be invalid.					

Based on the odds ratio, the odds of transmitting AR messages using role-play were 11.1 times higher if the mother had a strong degree of endorsement versus a moderate degree; strong endorsement makes the use of the tell mode 3.1 times higher; and mothers strongly endorsing AR messages were .29 times less likely to transmit them using the exposure mode as compared to mothers with a moderate endorsement. Determining the odds ratio for the show mode was not

possible as the counts were six “yes” and zero “no” making 6/0 indeterminate; even though there seems to be a moderate association between strong endorsement of AR messages and transmission using the show method. Again, these results need to be interpreted with caution as the chi-square approximation may not be satisfactory in this case as more than 20% of expected cell frequencies are less than five.

Table 4.15: Degree of Racial & Religious Coping with Antagonism & Transmission Mode Frequency Crosstab

			RRCdegree		
			Moderate Endorsement	**No Endorsement**	**Strong Endorsement**
RRCShow	**No**	Count	26	4	1
		Column Total N %	29.9%	80.0%	7.1%
	Yes	Count	61	1	13
		Column Total N %	70.1%	20.0%	92.9%
	Total	Count	87	5	14
		Column Total N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
RRCRolePlay	**No**	Count	44	5	5
		Column Total N %	50.6%	100.0%	35.7%
	Yes	Count	43	0	9
		Column Total N %	49.4%	0.0%	64.3%
	Total	Count	87	5	14
		Column Total N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
RRCTell	**No**	Count	25	5	4
		Column Total N %	28.7%	100.0%	28.6%
	Yes	Count	62	0	10
		Column Total N %	71.3%	0.0%	71.4%
	Total	Count	87	5	14
		Column Total N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
RRCExpose	**No**	Count	59	5	4
		Column Total N %	67.8%	100.0%	28.6%
	Yes	Count	28	0	10
		Column Total N %	32.2%	0.0%	71.4%
	Total	Count	87	5	14
		Column Total N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Pearson Chi-Square Tests					
		Show	RolePlay	Tell	Expose
RRC degree	Chi-square	9.547	6.119	11.113	11.009
	df	2	2	2	2
	Sig.	.008[*,b]	.047[*,b]	.004[*,b]	.004[*,b]
	Cramer’s V	.300[†]	.240[†]	.324[†]	.322[†]
	Contingency Coefficient	.287[†]	.234[†]	.308[†]	.307[†]
Results are based on nonempty rows and columns in each innermost subtable.					
*. The Chi-square statistic is significant at the .05 level.					
[†]Symmetric Measure Value is significant at .05 level					
b. More than 20% of cells in this subtable have expected cell counts less than 5. Chi-square results may be invalid.					

Table 4.15 reflects the associations between the degree of endorsement of Racial & Religious Coping with Antagonism messages and transmission mode frequencies. The chi-square tests for RRC and modes of transmission frequency demonstrate that there are statistically significant positive associations between endorsement of the RRC message and all four transmission modes. Cramer's V demonstrates that the associations between degree of RRC message endorsement and the modes of showing, role-play, telling, and exposure are all weak [χ^2 (2, N=106) = 9.547, p<.05; χ^2 (2, N=106) = 6.119, p<.05; χ^2 (2, N=106) = 11.113, p<.05; χ^2 (2, N=106) = 11.009, p<.05]. Based on the odds ratio, the odds of transmitting RRC messages using show were 5.6 times higher if the mother had a strong degree of endorsement versus a moderate degree; strong endorsement makes the use of the role-play mode 1.8 times higher; degree of endorsement did not make mothers any more or less likely to use the tell mode; and mothers strongly endorsing RRC messages were .19 times less likely to transmit them using the exposure mode as compared to mothers with a moderate endorsement. As previously stated, these results need to be interpreted with caution as the chi-square approximation may not be satisfactory in this case as more than 20% of expected cell frequencies are less than five. However, this count has to do with the number of mothers reporting no endorsement and subsequently reporting "no" for use of the transmission modes.

Table 4.16: Degree of Interracial Coping & Transmission Modes Frequency Crosstab

			ICdegree	
			Moderate Endorsement	**Strong Endorsement**
ICShow	**No**	Count	48	1
		Column Total N %	48.5%	14.3%
	Yes	Count	50	6
		Column Total N %	50.5%	85.7%
	Total	Count	98	7
		Column Total N %	100.0%	100.0%
ICRole Play	**Yes**	Count	24	6
		Column Total N %	24.2%	85.7%
	No	Count	74	1
		Column Total N %	74.7%	14.3%
	Total	Count	98	7
		Column Total N %	100.0%	100.0%
ICTell	**Yes**	Count	45	7
		Column Total N %	45.5%	100.0%
	No	Count	53	0
		Column Total N %	53.5%	0.0%
	Total	Count	98	7
		Column Total N %	100.0%	100.0%
ICExpose	**Yes**	Count	45	5
		Column Total N %	45.5%	71.4%
	No	Count	53	2
		Column Total N %	53.5%	28.6%
	Total	Count	98	7
		Column Total N %	100.0%	100.0%

Pearson Chi-Square Tests					
		Show	Role Play	Tell	Expose
IC degree	Chi-square	3.160	12.000	7.644	1.705
	df	1	1	1	1
	Sig.	.075[a]	.001[a,*]	.006[a,*]	.192[a]
	Cramer's V	.173	.338[†]	.270[†]	.127
	Contingency Coefficient	.171	.320[†]	.261[†]	.126
Results are based on nonempty rows and columns in each innermost subtable.					
*. The Chi-square statistic is significant at the .05 level.					
[†]Symmetric Measure Value is significant at .05 level					
a. More than 20% of cells in this subtable have expected cell counts less than 5. Chi-square results may be invalid.					

Table 4.16 reflects the associations between the degree of endorsement of Interracial Coping messages and transmission mode frequencies. The chi-square tests for IC and modes of transmission frequency demonstrate that there are statistically significant positive associations between endorsement of the IC message and two of the four transmission modes. Cramer's V demonstrates that the associations between degree of IC message endorsement and the modes of

role-play and telling are all weak [χ^2 (2, N=105) = 12.000, p<.05; χ^2 (2, N=105) = 7.644, p<.05]. Based on the odds ratio, the odds of transmitting IC messages using role-play were 18.8 times higher if the mother had a strong degree of endorsement versus a moderate degree; determining the odds ratio for the tell mode was not possible as the counts were seven "yes" and zero "no" making 7/0 indeterminate; even though there is a weak association between strong endorsement of IC messages and transmission using the tell mode. Again, these results need to be interpreted with caution as the chi-square approximation may not be satisfactory in this case as more than 20% of expected cell frequencies are less than five.

Table 4.17: Degree of Internalized Racism & Transmission Mode Frequency Crosstab

			IRdegree
			No Endorsement
IRShow	**Yes**	Count	37
		Column Total N %	34.9%
	No	Count	68
		Column Total N %	64.2%
	Total	Count	105
		Column Total N %	100.0%
IRRole Play	**Yes**	Count	11
		Column Total N %	10.4%
	No	Count	94
		Column Total N %	88.7%
	Total	Count	105
		Column Total N %	100.0%
IRTell	**Yes**	Count	27
		Column Total N %	25.5%
	No	Count	78
		Column Total N %	73.6%
	Total	Count	105
		Column Total N %	100.0%
IRExpose	**Yes**	Count	18
		Column Total N %	17.0%
	No	Count	87
		Column Total N %	82.1%
	Total	Count	105
		Column Total N %	100.0%

Pearson Chi-Square Tests [a.]					
		Show	Role Play	Tell	Expose
IR degree	Chi-square	.	.	.	.
	df	.	.	.	.
	Sig.	.	.	.	.
Results are based on nonempty rows and columns in each innermost subtable.					
a. No statistics are computed because IR degree is a constant.					

Table 4.17 reflects the associations between the degree of endorsement of Internalized Racism messages and transmission mode frequencies. The overwhelming majority of mothers did not endorse this message type, therefore associations between degree of endorsement and transmission mode do not exist. However, the table does reflect how many mothers stated that they never conveyed IR messages, yet they went on to mark a mode of transmission. Again, participant error does play a role in fully understanding the survey results.

Associations between CRIS Multiculturalist Inclusive racial identity attitude & transmission modes. To establish whether mothers' Multiculturalist Inclusive racial identity attitude is associated with particular message transmission modes, six cross tabulations were created. It is useful to identify whether or not associations between a particular CRIS subscale and the four modes of transmission exist. In order examine the existence of associations, cross tabulations were analyzed. Table 4.18 reflects the associations between the degree of agreement with the Multiculturalist Inclusive identity attitude and CL transmission mode frequencies. The chi-square tests for Multiculturalist Inclusive and Cultural Legacy modes of transmission frequencies demonstrate that there is a statistically significant positive association between agreement with the Multiculturalist Inclusive racial attitude and the CL tell transmission mode. Cramer's V demonstrates that the association between degree of agreement with the Multiculturalist Inclusive attitude and the mode telling is weak [χ^2 (2, N=105) = 7.878, $p<.05$].

Table 4.18: Degree of Multiculturalist Inclusive Racial Identity Attitude [X] Cultural Legacy Transmission Mode Frequency Crosstab

			Multiculturalist Inclusive			
			No	**Moderate**	**Strong**	**Weak**
CLShow	No	Count	2	19	5	3
		Column Total N %	20.0%	28.8%	20.8%	50.0%
	Yes	Count	8	46	19	3
		Column Total N %	80.0%	69.7%	79.2%	50.0%
	Total	Count	10	65	24	6
		Column Total N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
CLRole Play	Yes	Count	3	21	10	2
		Column Total N %	30.0%	31.8%	41.7%	33.3%
	No	Count	7	44	14	4
		Column Total N %	70.0%	66.7%	58.3%	66.7%
	Total	Count	10	65	24	6
		Column Total N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
CLTell	No	Count	1	31	6	3
		Column Total N %	10.0%	47.0%	25.0%	50.0%
	Yes	Count	9	34	18	3
		Column Total N %	90.0%	51.5%	75.0%	50.0%
	Total	Count	10	65	24	6
		Column Total N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
CLExpose	No	Count	2	19	7	2
		Column Total N %	20.0%	28.8%	29.2%	33.3%
	Yes	Count	8	46	17	4
		Column Total N %	80.0%	69.7%	70.8%	66.7%
	Total	Count	10	65	24	6
		Column Total N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Pearson Chi-Square Tests					
		CLShow	CLRole Play	CLTell	CLExpose
Multiculturalist Inclusive	Chi-square	2.431	.777	7.878	.445
	df	3	3	3	3
	Sig.	.488[a]	.855[a]	.049[a,*]	.931[a]
	Cramer's V	.152	.086	.274[†]	.065
	Contingency Coefficient	.150	.086	.264[†]	.065
Results are based on nonempty rows and columns in each innermost subtable.					
*. The Chi-square statistic is significant at the .05 level.					
[†]Symmetric Measure Value is significant at .05 level					
a. More than 20% of cells in this subtable have expected cell counts less than 5. Chi-square results may be invalid.					

Based on the odds ratio, the odds of transmitting CL messages using tell were 3 times higher if the mother had a strong degree of agreement with the Multiculturalist Inclusive racial attitude versus a weak level of agreement. None of the other CL transmission modes were statistically significant. As previously stated, these results need to be interpreted with caution as

the chi-square approximation may not be satisfactory in this case as more than 20% of expected cell frequencies are less than five.

Unfortunately, none of the other five message transmission modes garnered any statistically significant results for this CRIS attitude. It was originally hypothesized that the Multiculturalist Inclusive attitude would be associated with the use of the exposure strategy over any other modes of transmission. The results of the above table, as well as the tables which follow, do lend support for the original hypothesis.

Table 4.19: Degree of Multiculturalist Inclusive Racial Identity Attitude X Cultural Pride Transmission Mode Frequency Crosstab

			Multiculturalist Inclusive			
			No	**Moderate**	**Strong**	**Weak**
CPShow	No	Count	2	10	4	2
		Column Total N %	20.0%	15.2%	16.7%	33.3%
	Yes	Count	8	55	20	4
		Column Total N %	80.0%	83.3%	83.3%	66.7%
	Total	Count	10	65	24	6
		Column Total N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
CPRole Play	Yes	Count	2	22	10	2
		Column Total N %	20.0%	33.3%	41.7%	33.3%
	No	Count	8	43	14	4
		Column Total N %	80.0%	65.2%	58.3%	66.7%
	Total	Count	10	65	24	6
		Column Total N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
CPTell	No	Count	0	14	9	2
		Column Total N %	0.0%	21.2%	37.5%	33.3%
	Yes	Count	10	51	15	4
		Column Total N %	100.0%	77.3%	62.5%	66.7%
	Total	Count	10	65	24	6
		Column Total N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
CPExpose	No	Count	3	17	4	2
		Column Total N %	30.0%	25.8%	16.7%	33.3%
	Yes	Count	7	48	20	4
		Column Total N %	70.0%	72.7%	83.3%	66.7%
	Total	Count	10	65	24	6
		Column Total N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Pearson Chi-Square Tests					
		CPShow	CPRolePlay	CPTell	CPExpose
Multiculturalist Inclusive	Chi-square	1.310	1.494	6.089	1.296
	df	3	3	3	3
	Sig.	.727[a]	.684[a]	.107[a]	.730[a]
	Cramer's V	.112	.119	.241	.111
	Contingency Coefficient	.111	.118	.234	.110
Results are based on nonempty rows and columns in each innermost subtable.					
†Symmetric Measure Value is significant at .05 level					
a. More than 20% of cells in this subtable have expected cell counts less than 5. Chi-square results may be invalid.					

Table 4.20: Degree of Multiculturalist Inclusive Racial Identity Attitude X Alertness to Racism Transmission Mode Frequency Crosstab

			Multiculturalist Inclusive			
			No	**Moderate**	**Strong**	**Weak**
ARShow	No	Count	4	29	6	3
		Column Total N %	40.0%	43.9%	25.0%	50.0%
	Yes	Count	6	37	18	3
		Column Total N %	60.0%	56.1%	75.0%	50.0%
	Total	Count	10	66	24	6
		Column Total N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
ARRole Play	Yes	Count	2	17	8	2
		Column Total N %	20.0%	25.8%	33.3%	33.3%
	No	Count	8	49	16	4
		Column Total N %	80.0%	74.2%	66.7%	66.7%
	Total	Count	10	66	24	6
		Column Total N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
ARTell	Yes	Count	6	31	12	3
		Column Total N %	60.0%	47.0%	50.0%	50.0%
	No	Count	4	35	12	3
		Column Total N %	40.0%	53.0%	50.0%	50.0%
	Total	Count	10	66	24	6
		Column Total N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
ARExpose	Yes	Count	4	17	10	2
		Column Total N %	40.0%	25.8%	41.7%	33.3%
	No	Count	6	49	14	4
		Column Total N %	60.0%	74.2%	58.3%	66.7%
	Total	Count	10	66	24	6
		Column Total N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Pearson Chi-Square Tests					
		ARShow	ARRolePlay	ARTell	ARExpose
MulticulturalistInclusive	Chi-square	2.930	.896	.605	2.512
	df	3	3	3	3
	Sig.	.403[a]	.826[a]	.895[a]	.473[a]
	Cramer's V	.166	.092	.076	.154
	Contingency Coefficient	.164	.092	.075	.152
Results are based on nonempty rows and columns in each innermost subtable.					
†Symmetric Measure Value is significant at .05 level					
a. More than 20% of cells in this subtable have expected cell counts less than 5. Chi-square results may be invalid.					

Table 4.21: Degree of Multiculturalist Inclusive Racial Identity Attitude [X] Racial and Religious Coping with Antagonism Transmission Mode Frequency Crosstab

			Multiculturalist Inclusive			
			No	**Moderate**	**Strong**	**Weak**
RRCShow	No	Count	2	20	7	2
		Column Total N %	20.0%	30.3%	29.2%	33.3%
	Yes	Count	8	46	17	4
		Column Total N %	80.0%	69.7%	70.8%	66.7%
	Total	Count	10	66	24	6
		Column Total N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
RRCRole Play	Yes	Count	5	32	12	3
		Column Total N %	50.0%	48.5%	50.0%	50.0%
	No	Count	5	34	12	3
		Column Total N %	50.0%	51.5%	50.0%	50.0%
	Total	Count	10	66	24	6
		Column Total N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
RRCTell	No	Count	3	22	7	2
		Column Total N %	30.0%	33.3%	29.2%	33.3%
	Yes	Count	7	44	17	4
		Column Total N %	70.0%	66.7%	70.8%	66.7%
	Total	Count	10	66	24	6
		Column Total N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
RRCExpose	Yes	Count	4	23	9	2
		Column Total N %	40.0%	34.8%	37.5%	33.3%
	No	Count	6	43	15	4
		Column Total N %	60.0%	65.2%	62.5%	66.7%
	Total	Count	10	66	24	6
		Column Total N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Pearson Chi-Square Tests					
		RRC Show	RRCRole Play	RRC Tell	RRC Expose
Multiculturalist Inclusive	Chi-square	.497	.023	.165	.149
	df	3	3	3	3
	Sig.	.919[a]	.999[a]	.983[a]	.985[a]
	Cramer's V	.068	.015	.039	.037
	Contingency Coefficient	.068	.015	.039	.037
Results are based on nonempty rows and columns in each innermost subtable.					
[†]Symmetric Measure Value is significant at .05 level					
a. More than 20% of cells in this subtable have expected cell counts less than 5. Chi-square results may be invalid.					

Table 4.22: Degree of Multiculturalist Inclusive Racial Identity Attitude [X] Interracial Coping Transmission Mode Frequency Crosstab

			Multiculturalist Inclusive			
			No	**Moderate**	**Strong**	**Weak**
ICShow	No	Count	5	32	10	2
		Column Total N %	50.0%	48.5%	41.7%	33.3%
	Yes	Count	5	33	14	4
		Column Total N %	50.0%	50.0%	58.3%	66.7%
	Total	Count	10	65	24	6
		Column Total N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
ICRole Play	Yes	Count	2	20	6	2
		Column Total N %	20.0%	30.3%	25.0%	33.3%
	No	Count	8	45	18	4
		Column Total N %	80.0%	68.2%	75.0%	66.7%
	Total	Count	10	65	24	6
		Column Total N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
ICTell	Yes	Count	6	29	12	5
		Column Total N %	60.0%	43.9%	50.0%	83.3%
	No	Count	4	36	12	1
		Column Total N %	40.0%	54.5%	50.0%	16.7%
	Total	Count	10	65	24	6
		Column Total N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
ICExpose	Yes	Count	4	32	10	4
		Column Total N %	40.0%	48.5%	41.7%	66.7%
	No	Count	6	33	14	2
		Column Total N %	60.0%	50.0%	58.3%	33.3%
	Total	Count	10	65	24	6
		Column Total N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Pearson Chi-Square Tests					
		ICShow	ICRolePlay	ICTell	ICExpose
Multiculturalist Inclusive	Chi-square	.886	.731	3.811	1.514
	df	3	3	3	3
	Sig.	.829[a]	.866[a]	.283[a]	.679[a]
	Cramer's V	.092	.083	.191	.120
	Contingency Coefficient	.091	.083	.187	.119
Results are based on nonempty rows and columns in each innermost subtable.					
[†]Symmetric Measure Value is significant at .05 level					
a. More than 20% of cells in this subtable have expected cell counts less than 5. Chi-square results may be invalid.					

Table 4.23: Degree of Multiculturalist Inclusive Racial Identity Attitude [X] Internalized Racism Transmission Mode Frequency Crosstab

			Multiculturalist Inclusive			
			No	**Moderate**	**Strong**	**Weak**
IRShow	Yes	Count	1	23	10	3
		Column Total N %	10.0%	34.8%	41.7%	50.0%
	No	Count	9	42	14	3
		Column Total N %	90.0%	63.6%	58.3%	50.0%
	Total	Count	10	65	24	6
		Column Total N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
IRRole Play	Yes	Count	0	6	4	1
		Column Total N %	0.0%	9.1%	16.7%	16.7%
	No	Count	10	59	20	5
		Column Total N %	100.0%	89.4%	83.3%	83.3%
	Total	Count	10	65	24	6
		Column Total N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
IRTell	Yes	Count	2	18	6	1
		Column Total N %	20.0%	27.3%	25.0%	16.7%
	No	Count	8	47	18	5
		Column Total N %	80.0%	71.2%	75.0%	83.3%
	Total	Count	10	65	24	6
		Column Total N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
IRExpose	Yes	Count	0	11	6	1
		Column Total N %	0.0%	16.7%	25.0%	16.7%
	No	Count	10	54	18	5
		Column Total N %	100.0%	81.8%	75.0%	83.3%
	Total	Count	10	65	24	6
		Column Total N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Pearson Chi-Square Tests					
		IRShow	IRRolePlay	IRTell	IRExpose
Multiculturalist Inclusive	Chi-square	.886	.731	3.811	1.514
	df	3	3	3	3
	Sig.	.829[a]	.866[a]	.283[a]	.679[a]
	Cramer's V	.190	.154	.074	.172
	Contingency Coefficient	.187	.153	.073	.170
Results are based on nonempty rows and columns in each innermost subtable.					
[†]Symmetric Measure Value is significant at .05 level					
a. More than 20% of cells in this subtable have expected cell counts less than 5. Chi-square results may be invalid.					

CRIS Afrocentricity racial identity attitude and mothers' identifying daughters' behavior as incongruous with her racial identity. To examine whether or not associations existed between the CRIS Afrocentricity racial attitude and mothers identifying daughter's behavior as incongruous with mothers' conception of appropriate race performance, a cross tabulations was created. The third section of the Parent-CARES instrument was modified to ask a question specifically aimed at getting mothers to report instances when their daughters behaved

in ways counter to what the mother deemed racially "appropriate." The question posed was: "Has your daughter done or said anything that made you think she got the wrong message about her racial identity?" Mothers could respond using "Don't know," "No," or "Yes." Table 4.24 shows the percentages of mothers answering the question using the three answer choices. Fifty-four percent of mothers answered "no."

Table 4.24: Mothers Reporting Daughter's Incongruous Race Behavior Frequency

Has your daughter done or said anything that made you think she got the wrong message about her racial identity?					
		Frequency	Percent	**Valid Percent**	Cumulative Percent
Valid	**Yes**	42	39.6	41.2	41.2
	No	55	51.9	53.9	95.1
	Don't Know	5	4.7	4.9	100.0
	Total	102	96.2	100.0	
Missing	System	4	3.8		
Total		106	100.0		

Table 4.25: Degree of Afrocentricity Racial Identity Attitude [X] Reports of Daughter's Incongruous Race Behavior Crosstab

			Afrocentricity			
			Strong	Weak	Moderate	Total
Has your daughter done or said anything that made you think she got the wrong message about her racial identity?	**Yes**	Count	1	18	23	42
		Table Total N %	0.9%	17.0%	21.7%	39.6%
		Column Total N %	25.0%	54.5%	33.3%	39.6%
	No	Count	2	12	41	55
		Table Total N %	1.9%	11.3%	38.7%	51.9%
		Column Total N %	50.0%	36.4%	59.4%	51.9%
	Don't Know	Count	1	3	1	5
		Table Total N %	0.9%	2.8%	0.9%	4.7%
		Column Total N %	25.0%	9.1%	1.4%	4.7%

Pearson Chi-Square Tests		
		Afrocentricity
Has your daughter done or said anything that made you think she got the wrong message about her racial identity?	Chi-square	11.102
	df	4
	Sig.	.025[*,b,c]
	Phi	.330[†]
	Contingency Coefficient	.313[†]
Results are based on nonempty rows and columns in each innermost subtable.		
*. The Chi-square statistic is significant at the .05 level.		
[†]Symmetric Measure Value is significant at .05 level		
b. More than 20% of cells in this subtable have expected cell counts less than 5. Chi-square results may be invalid.		
c. The minimum expected cell count in this subtable is less than one. Chi-square results may be invalid.		

Table 4.25 demonstrates that there is a statistically significant positive association between the degree of agreement with the Afrocentricity attitude and reporting whether or not one's daughter did or said anything that made one think she got the wrong message about her racial identity [χ^2 (4, N=102) = 11.102, p<.05]. That the Φ = .33 tells us that the association is a weak one. Based on the odds ratio, the odds of answering yes to the question were 3 times higher for mothers who strongly agree with the Afrocentricity attitude as opposed to those mothers whose agreement with this attitude was weak.

Relationships between WIAS-R identity attitude & CRIS racial identity attitude.

Table 4.26: Pearson Correlation Coefficients for WIAS Identity Attitudes X CRIS Racial Identity Attitudes

	1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**
1. Assimilation CRIS	____									
2. Miseducation CRIS	.239*	____								
3. SelfHatred CRIS	.386**	.529**	____							
4. Anti-White CRIS	-.100	.073	.318**	____						
5. Afrocentricity CRIS	-.207*	-.054	.005	.450**	____					
6. Multiculturalist Inclusive CRIS	.288**	-.111	-.174	-.018	.153	____				
7. PreEncounter WIAS	**.283****	**.301****	**.448****	.077	.053	**-.271****	____			
8. Encounter WIAS	**.334****	**.340****	**.533****	-.073	.030	-.055	.590**	____		
9. Immersion-Emersion WIAS	**.205***	**.465****	**.579****	.125	**.205***	-.188	.643**	.761**	____	
10. Internalization WIAS	-.018	-.098	**-.199***	-.155	.137	**.310****	-.327**	-.085	-.277**	____

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (1-tailed).
**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).

To examine whether or not CRIS racial attitudes and WIAS-R attitudes were related, a correlation matrix was created. It was hypothesized that a positive relationship between CRIS and WIAS-R attitudes existed. Table 4.26 shows that statistically significant weak to moderate, positive relationships exist between the following pairs: Assimilation CRIS and Pre-Encounter WIAS-R (r =.283, p<.01), Assimilation CRIS and Encounter (r =.334, p<.01), & Assimilation CRIS and Immersion-Emersion (r =.205, p<.05); Miseducation CRIS and Pre-Encounter WIAS-

R (r =.301, p<.01), Miseducation CRIS and Encounter (r =.340, p<.01), & Miseducation CRIS and Immersion-Emersion WIAS-R (r =.465, p<.01); Self-Hatred CRIS and Pre-Encounter WIAS-R (r =.448, p<.01), Self-Hatred CRIS and Encounter (r =.533, p<.01), Self-Hatred CRIS and Immersion-Emersion WIAS-R (r =.579, p<.01); Afrocentricity and Immersion-Emersion WIAS-R (r =.205, p<.05); and Multiculturalist Inclusive and Internalization WIAS-R (r =.310, p<.01). These pairings suggest that these particular CRIS and WIAS-R attitudes covary: for instance, as one strengthens her endorsement of the Afrocentricity attitude the more she agrees with the Immersion-Emersion WIAS-R womanist attitude. Such a relationship makes sense as both attitudes reflect Immersion-Emersion world views.

Statistically significant weak, negative relationships were found between the following pairs: Self-Hatred CRIS and Internalization WIAS-R (r = -.199, p<.05); and Multiculturalist Inclusive CRIS and Pre-Encounter WIAS-R (r = -.271, p<.01). These pairings suggest inverse relationships: for instance, as one agrees more with the Self-Hatred racial attitude, one is likely to endorse less the Internalization womanist attitude. Such a relationship makes sense as the Self-Hatred attitude is situated in the Pre-Encounter racial world view, a view less developed and healthy than the Internalization womanist identity attitude.

Multivariate Analyses

CRIS racial identity attitudes as predictors of degree of racial socialization message endorsement. To investigate which CRIS racial attitudes predicted degree of racial socialization endorsement, a multiple regression was conducted for each of the six Parent-CARES subscales. In screening the data some transformations were made. Three outliers were deleted from the data leaving 103 cases. Missing data was replaced using the series mean. To deal with concerns regarding normality the natural logarithm was used for Self-Hatred, Anti-White, Interracial

Coping, and Cultural Pride; Multiculturalist Inclusive was reflected and the natural logarithm used; and Cultural Legacy and Racial & Religious Coping were reflected and the inverse used (Mertler and Vannatta, 2005). Table 4.27 presents the model summary for the CRIS predictors of degree of cultural pride message endorsement and Table 4.28 displays the regression coefficients.

Table 4.27: Model Summary for CRIS Racial Identity Predictors of Degree of Cultural Pride Message Endorsement

Model	R	R^2	F	*df*	p
1	.435[a]	.189	3.724	6	.002

a. Predictors: (Constant), Multiculturalist Inclusive, Anti-White, Miseducation, Afrocentricity, Assimilation, Self Hatred

Table 4.28: Regression Coefficients[b] of CRIS Variables on Degree of Cultural Pride Message Endorsement

Model	Variables	B	βeta	*t*	p
1	(Constant)	.215		3.540	.001
	Assimilation	.012	.162	1.405	.163
	Miseducation	.018	.183	1.715	.090
	Afrocentricity	-.025	-.262	-2.674	.009*
	Self Hatred	-.177	-.336	-2.594	.011*
	Anti-White	.074	.100	.911	.365
	Multicultural Inclusive	.183	.295	2.758	.007*

b. Dependent Variable: Cultural Pride
* $p<.05$

Forced entry multiple regression was conducted to determine which independent variables (Assimilation, Miseducation, Afrocentricity, Self-Hatred, Anti-White, Multicultural Inclusive) were predictors of degree of endorsement of the CP message. Regression results indicate an overall model of three explanatory variables that significantly predict degree of endorsement of the CP message, $R^2=.189$, $R^2_{adj}=.138$, $F(6, 96)=3.724$, $p<.05$. This model accounted for 19% of the variance in degree of CP endorsement. The regression equation can be expressed as:

$$CP = .215 + (-.025)_{afrocentricity} + (-.177)_{self\text{-}hatred} + .183_{multiculturalist\ inclusive}$$

We can predict degree of CP endorsement when we know the values of the Afrocentricity, Self-Hatred, and Multiculturalist Inclusive scores on the CRIS. Multiculturalist Inclusive has positive regression weights indicating that higher agreement with this attitude is expected to have higher endorsement of the CP message. Afrocentricity & Self-Hatred have significant negative regression weights indicating that after accounting for Multiculturalist Inclusive endorsement, those with higher levels of Afrocentricity & Self-Hatred agreement have lower levels of CP endorsement.

Table 4.29 presents the model summary for the CRIS predictors of degree of cultural legacy message endorsement and Table 4.30 displays the regression coefficients.

Table 4.29: Model Summary for CRIS Racial Identity Predictors of Degree of Cultural Legacy Message Endorsement

Model	R	R^2	F	*df*	p
1	.410[a]	.168	3.223	6	.006

a. Predictors: (Constant), Multiculturalist Inclusive, Anti-White, Miseducation, Afrocentricity, Assimilation, Self Hatred

Table 4.30: Regression Coefficients[b] of CRIS Variables on Degree of Cultural Legacy Message Endorsement

Model	Variables	B	βeta	*t*	p
1	(Constant)	.631		7.968	.000
	Assimilation	-.013	-.133	-1.144	.256
	Miseducation	-.016	-.127	-1.181	.241
	Self Hatred	.040	.060	.454	.651
	Anti-White	-.003	-.004	-.032	.975
	Afrocentricity	.024	.198	1.997	.049*
	Multicultural Inclusive	-.278	-.346	-3.201	.002*

b. Dependent Variable: Cultural Legacy
* $p<.05$

Forced entry multiple regression was conducted to determine which independent variables (Assimilation, Miseducation, Afrocentricity, Self-Hatred, Anti-White, Multicultural Inclusive)

were predictors of degree of endorsement of the CL message. Regression results indicate an overall model of two explanatory factors that significantly predict degree of endorsement of the CL message, R^2=.168, R^2_{adj}=.116, F (6, 96)=3.223, p<.05. This model only accounted for 17% of the variance in degree of CL endorsement. The regression equation can be expressed as:

$$CL = .631 + (-.278)_{multiculturalist\ inclusive} + .024_{afrocentricity}$$

We can predict degree of CL endorsement when we know the values of the Afrocentricity and Multiculturalist Inclusive scores on the CRIS. Afrocentricity has positive regression weights indicating that higher agreement with this attitude is expected to have higher endorsement of the CL message. Multiculturalist Inclusive has significant negative regression weights indicating that after accounting for Afrocentricity endorsement, those with higher levels of Multiculturalist Inclusive agreement have lower levels of CL endorsement.

Table 4.31 presents the model summary for the CRIS predictors of degree of racial and religious coping with antagonism message endorsement and Table 4.32 displays the regression coefficients.

Table 4.31: Model Summary for CRIS Racial Identity Predictors of Degree of Racial & Religious Coping Message Endorsement

Model	R	R^2	F	*df*	p
1	.443[a]	.196	3.912	6	.002

a. Predictors: (Constant), Multiculturalist Inclusive, Anti-White, Miseducation, Afrocentricity, Assimilation, Self Hatred

Table 4.32: Regression Coefficients[b] of CRIS Variables on Degree of Racial & Religious Coping Message Endorsement

Model	Variables	B	βeta	*t*	p
1	(Constant)	.749		10.053	.000
	Assimilation	-.021	-.228	-1.987	.050
	Miseducation	-.022	-.181	-1.708	.091
	Afrocentricity	.010	.086	.880	.381
	Self Hatred	.334	.513	3.985	.000*
	Anti-White	-.251	-.272	-2.499	.014*
	Multicultural Inclusive	-.271	-.353	-3.321	.001*

b. Dependent Variable: Racial & Religious Coping
* p<.05

Forced entry multiple regression was conducted to determine which independent variables (Assimilation, Miseducation, Afrocentricity, Self-Hatred, Anti-White, Multicultural Inclusive) were predictors of degree of endorsement of the CL message. Regression results indicate an overall model of three explanatory factors that significantly predict degree of endorsement of the RRC message, R^2=.196, R^2_{adj}=.146, F (6, 96)=3.912, p<.05. This model only accounted for 20% of the variance in degree of RRC endorsement. The regression equation can be expressed as:

$$RRC = .749 + (-.251)_{anti\text{-}white} + (-.271)_{multiculturalist\ inclusive} + .334_{self\text{-}hatred}$$

We can predict degree of RRC endorsement when we know the values of the Self-Hatred, Anti-White, and Multiculturalist Inclusive scores on the CRIS. Self-Hatred has positive regression weights indicating that higher agreement with this attitude is expected to have higher endorsement of RRC message. Anti-White and Multiculturalist Inclusive have significant negative regression weights indicating that after accounting for Self-Hatred endorsement, those with higher levels of Anti-White and Multiculturalist Inclusive agreement have lower levels of RRC endorsement.

Table 4.33 presents the model summary for the CRIS predictors of degree of interracial coping endorsement and Table 4.34 displays the regression coefficients.

Table 4.33: Model Summary for CRIS Racial Identity Predictors of Degree Interracial Coping Message Endorsement (Stepwise)

Model	R	R^2	F	*df*	p
1	.228[a]	.083	9.121	1	.003

a. Predictors: (Constant), Self Hatred

Table 4.34: Regression Coefficients [b] of CRIS Variables on Degree of Interracial Coping Message Endorsement

Model	Variables	B	βeta	*t*	p
1	(Constant)	.202		29.871	.000
	Self Hatred	.072	.288	3.020	.003*

b. Dependent Variable: Interracial Coping
* $p<.05$

Stepwise multiple regression was conducted to determine which independent variables (Assimilation, Miseducation, Afrocentricity, Self-Hatred, Anti-White, Multicultural Inclusive) were predictors of degree of endorsement of the IC message. Regression results indicate an overall model with only one explanatory factor that significantly predicts degree of endorsement of the IC message, $R^2=.083$, $R^2_{adj}=.074$, $F(1, 101)=9.121$, $p<.05$. This model only accounted for 8% of the variance in degree of IC endorsement. The regression equation can be expressed as:

$$IC = .202 + .072_{selfhate}$$

We can predict degree of IC endorsement when we know the value of the Self-Hatred score on the CRIS. Self-Hatred has positive regression weights indicating that higher agreement with this attitude is expected to have higher endorsement of IC message.

No regression model produced significant results for the Alertness to Racism or Internalized Racism messages. Therefore, it appears that no predictive relationship can be established between CRIS racial attitudes and degree of endorsement of AR and IR messages. In the case of IR this failure is most likely due to 100% of mothers reporting "never" transmitting these types of messages. Why no predictive relationship can be established for AR messages will require further analysis, analysis which goes beyond the techniques used in this dissertation.

Summary

The statistical analyses performed yielded very interesting results. Computing simple frequencies revealed that over 64% of mothers reported household incomes of more than $75,000 with over half reporting incomes of more than $100,000. This finding demonstrates that the sample reflects a solidly middle class stratum. With 81% of mothers reporting their daughter's GPA as 3.5 or greater, it is surmised that the majority of these young girls are high achievers. Ninety percent of these middle class mothers report racially socializing their daughters, a rate higher than what has been found in previous studies investigating the prevalence of parental racial socialization amongst lower-income blacks. The most frequently transmitted racial socialization message types were of Interracial Coping (100%) and Racial & Religious Coping with Antagonism (95%); however, the message types that were most strongly endorsed were those of Cultural Pride (1.77 out of a 3.0 scale) and Cultural Legacy (1.78 out of a 3.0 scale). The extant literature supports this finding; mothers are more likely to socialize daughters to take their places in the African American community by emphasizing racial heritage and racial pride. When we examine the modes most likely used by mothers to transmit the various messages we find that the modality of modeling is used by the overwhelming majority of mothers for all six Parent-CARES message types. This finding helps to bolster the decision to apply the social-cognitive learning theory to this study. Socialization necessitates observation, imitation, and vicarious reinforcement, actions which are rooted the modeling transmission mode. Descriptive statistical procedures also demonstrated that the racial identity attitude most strongly endorsed by mothers was that of the Multiculturalist Inclusive (4.95 out of a 7.0 scale). Mothers seem to indicate that a racial identity that privileges an inclusive multicultural perspective is more strongly aligned with how they envision themselves. The Multiculturalist

Inclusive racial identity attitude fits the narrative of these mothers who desire for their daughters to be educated in a more diverse setting, one that better represents the global community rather than the largely racially segregated schools of Detroit. Such a racial identity perhaps means that mothers appreciate their blackness, yet are aware that the world has become more atomized and dispersed and they want their African American daughters to be able to survive and thrive in such an environment. That mothers participating in this study also strongly endorse the Internalization attitude of the Womanist Identity Attitude Scale demonstrates that mothers accord high salience to their womanist identity and, in tandem with the Multiculturalist Inclusive racial identity, suggests that theorizing a black-female identity is particularly warranted.

Examining associations and correlations between different variables produced interesting findings as well. Statistically significant associations were found between levels of message type endorsement and message transmission modes. When it comes to Cultural Legacy messages, mothers with strong endorsements were more likely to transmit these using telling, exposure, and modeling than mothers with a moderate level of endorsement. One surprising finding dealt with Cultural Pride messages. Mothers with a strong level of endorsement were slightly less likely to use the tell mode of transmission (the only statistically significant modality) than mothers with a moderate level of endorsement for Cultural Pride messages. That parity exists between levels of endorsement and the tell mode perhaps demonstrates that the transmission of Cultural Pride messages is so important that level of endorsement does not have considerable bearing. Also it is quite revealing that Alertness to Racism and Racial & Religious Coping with Antagonism messages (taken together they represent the Preparation for Bias broad message type found in the extant literature) are the only message types which have statistically significant associations with all four transmission modes. For these mothers it appears that these two message types become

extremely important to convey to daughters, so much so that mothers employed each of the modalities regardless of level of endorsement. Living and attending school as a young black girl in a predominantly white community must mean mothers are preparing them quite intensely for the bias they will inevitably face. Interpreting the results from the associations between the Multiculturalist Inclusive racial identity attitude and transmission modes employed yielded a surprising result: only one transmission mode was significantly associated with the Multiculturalist Inclusive racial identity attitude. The Multiculturalist Inclusive racial identity attitude was significantly associated with only the Cultural Legacy tell mode. None of the other five messages and their four modes of transmission elicited any statistically relevant results. Mothers with a higher level of agreement with the Multiculturalist Inclusive racial identity attitude were more likely to transmit Cultural Legacy messages using the tell mode. This finding bolsters the importance of cultural socialization messages, like Cultural Legacy, to the racial socialization of the daughters of mothers participating in the study. From the Multiculturalist Inclusive racial identity attitude point of view, affirming and appreciating one's blackness is vital to possessing an inclusive multicultural perspective. Mothers are fundamentally influencing their daughter's racial identity development by honing in on Cultural Legacy messages in an effort to make the black experience central to their daughter's identity. Also mothers with a higher level of agreement with the Afrocentricity racial identity attitude are more likely to identify episodes when their daughter exhibited behavior that was counter to what the mother deemed racially appropriate. Daughters may have behaved in a way that the mother thought little black girls should not. Perhaps something seemingly innocuous as tossing one's hair—as if the locks were longer than they really are—or something as distressing as vocalizing the desire to want to be white could have represented incongruent race behavior. Mothers who strongly

agree with the Afrocentricity racial identity attitude are more likely to accept and live by the Afrocentric principles proposed by Molefi Asante:

> (1) an intense interest in psychological location as determined by symbols, motifs, rituals, and signs;
>
> (2) a commitment to finding the subject-place of Africans in any social, political, economic, architectural, literary, or religious phenomenon with implications for questions of sex, gender, and class;
>
> (3) a defense of African cultural elements as historically valid in the context of art, music, education, science and literature;
>
> (4) a celebration of centeredness and agency and a commitment to lexical refinement that eliminates pejoratives about Africans or other people;
>
> (5) a powerful imperative from historical sources to revise the collective text of African people. (Fay, 2010, p.68).

As such, anything that the daughter may potentially do or say which runs counter to these principles will surely be noticed and addressed by the mother. Examining the correlations between racial identity attitude and womanist identity attitude produced two noteworthy results. A positive correlation between Self-Hatred CRIS and Immersion-Emersion WIAS-R ($r = .579$, $p < .01$) was found. It seems that as one strengthens her endorsement of the Self-Hatred racial attitude, the more she agrees with the Immersion-Emersion womanist attitude. This means that the more one is unhappy that she is African American, the more she begins to idealize women and immerse herself in being a woman as opposed to being a black woman or a black person. A negative correlation was found between Multiculturalist Inclusive CRIS and Pre-Encounter WIAS-R ($r = -.271$, $p < .01$). So as one increases her endorsement of the Multiculturalist Inclusive

attitude, the less likely one is to "conform to rigid societal values that tend to belittle women and privilege men and deny prejudice and discrimination against women" or the converse (Moradi et. al, 2004, p. 253).

The inferential statistics yielded important findings. For all but two of the six message types, we are able to predict degree of endorsement based upon various combinations of mothers' racial identity attitudes. If we know the values of mothers' scores on six CRIS subscales we can predict the degree of endorsement for Cultural Pride, Cultural Legacy, Racial & Religious Coping with Antagonism, and Interracial Coping messages. Using CRIS profiles can help us better understand how mother's racial identity influences the intensity with which certain racial socialization messages are emphasized over others.

Chapter 5

Focus Group Results-Mothers' Racial-Gender Identity

This chapter explores conversations that occurred during the focus groups. One important conversation reflected how mothers talked about their racial-gender identities. This chapter explores how mothers conceive of their racial identity, their thoughts regarding racial label preference, and what it means to be a black female.

Six focus groups were convened and one phone interview was conducted. A total of 21 mothers participated. The mothers' ages ranged from 27-54 (M = 39.17 years, SD =6.22). All but two of the participants were married and the majority had earned at least a BA degree and was employed in professional occupations. Median household income was reported as $75,000-$100,000 and all three (Wayne, Oakland, & Macomb) counties were represented, with the majority residing in Oakland County. The majority of participants reported the grade point average of their daughter as a 3.5 or higher. At the start of each focus group each mother was asked to choose her own pseudonym. These are the pseudonyms that are attached to the quotes within this chapter and how each mother is referenced throughout the dissertation.

Table 5.1: Mothers Participating in the Focus Groups[8]

Pseudonym	Focus Group	County of Residence	City School District
Lola C.	FG #1	Oakland	1
Taylor	FG #1	Oakland	6
Kim S.	FG #1	Oakland	4
Ruth	FG #2	Wayne	3
Monique	FG #2	Wayne	2
Rita	FG #2	Macomb	1
Sherry	FG#3	Macomb	2
Vicky	FG#3	Oakland	3
Mac	FG#4	Oakland	1
Natasha	FG#4	Oakland	2
Auntie	FG#4	Oakland	5
Toni	FG#4	Wayne	1
Kim D.	FG#5	Oakland	2
Valerie	FG#5	Oakland	3
Tiffany	FG#5	Oakland	4
Lola L.	FG#5	Oakland	2
Renee	FG#6	Oakland	7
Lola S.	FG#6	Wayne	1
Christina	FG#6	Wayne	4
Paris	FG#6	Oakland	2
Lashawn	Phone Interview	Oakland	8

Mothers' Racial-Gender Identity

Racial identity and label preference. From the first focus group it was apparent that the mothers participating in Phase 2 of the study harbored very strong opinions about their racial identity and how they wanted to be labeled, racially. This is evidenced, initially, by the fact that the interview schedule did not contain a question asking participants how they identified racially (as the study eligibility criteria required that participants self-identify as black/African American), yet mothers in the first group pointedly asked why they had not been asked. Upon the question being posed by the participants, I then encouraged them to give their responses and

[8] A few mothers choose the name Lola as a result of various trade books and resources that were set-up on a table in the conference room. The book "Lola at the Library" by Anna McQuinn & Rosalind Beardshaw was one such book which many mothers stated they had read with their daughters as they perused the items on the resource table.

to explain why they prefer one label over another or why they have no particular preference. This format produced a healthy exchange between the participants. All subsequent focus groups began with the racial label question. This development and the ensuing responses demonstrated that racial identification, in so far as label preference, was a salient issue for the majority of these mothers. The exchanges are presented here without being laced with commentary so as to better reflect the tone. When participants of one focus group were asked how they racially identify themselves, the following exchange occurred.

> Kim S.: This is a discussion I have had in my house about the label and what we are because the identifying is very important. Because I have an outward appearance of being a fair-skinned African American and I do not identify myself as African American, I identify myself as black. The reason is because I find that to be African American you must have come from Africa you must be able to go to Africa and go to a place and therefore that makes you African American.
>
> Lola C.: I do not agree with the African American term because it's like…how far are we going back? Because if that's the case everybody is as African American, it's like at what point do you decide when to determine what I am for you. To me I, when they speak of people it's where you were born, the country that you were born in, therefore I am American. I don't really like about being black, but I understand that that is the category and that's the way that they have defined what box we fit in.
>
> Taylor: I think that they're synonymous. I totally feel like they're synonymous…it's like saying you're white or Caucasian or black or African American. To me I feel like they're totally…
>
> Lola C.: But you have a continent attached with African American and not with Caucasian.
>
> Taylor: And I would still say as far as I'm concerned, as being a black American, I would say that my roots came somewhere from Africa. I didn't come from [physically], but I came from that portion, being a black American, I came from Africa. Those roots came in to America they imported us here against our will and we became a part of the culture and so my heritage I would say 99%, if you go all the way back down, I'm going to have some African ancestor because I didn't come to this America by chance it had to be in an African context.
>
> Lola C.: Everybody did. That's my whole point in saying the first. . .
>
> Taylor: Not everyone. You have Europeans; you got the people that were here first. . .

Lola C.: The first human bones were in Africa. So my point is, at the point that you want to make me because of my skin color an African American, everybody that's here then in America, cause that's why we put that part on there, is an African American. Because that's where the oldest person is. So my point is how far back do you then go? Is it up to you to determine how far you go back to say that this is. . .

Taylor: You just cut it off, it's your…

Lola C.: For the exact argument that you're saying. If we did for all practical purposes do genealogy at some point.

Taylor: It's gonna be a whole bunch of stuff, I'm going to have to say I'm white, black, I'm gonna say I'm Asian and a little this. . .

Kim S: Wait, wait. And the point about it is that it would be no me. What had to come together so that I'm sitting here, you can't just reach in Africa and get those people. You have to go all over the world and then you will get the person that makes me today. And that's kind of in, what you're saying, my identification is the African American/black experience in this country…To me to say that we are African American is to kind of muddle that American part of it. And our American part brings many wanted and unwanted backgrounds into our family make-up. It kind of pushes out some things and that's kind of why I don't want to say the African American because I think it's the larger group's way of not having to deal with how we all got to where we are and that we're people sitting here and our backgrounds. That's why it's just a big…I understand what you're saying for the synonymous thing but that's why it's a difference for me.

Taylor: Well I like my triple checker box: Black, female, and qualified!

This exchange best exemplifies the tenor of conversations occurring around racial identification and labeling. The complexity of racial identification and labeling for many African Americans is presented here. Many Americans, white and black alike, may have never thought that so much analysis could ground one's preference for identifying as black or African American. But as these exchanges demonstrate, preferring one label over another is a multifaceted issue with overlapping and diametrically opposed ideas occupying the same space.

Kim S. was born in New Orleans and proudly promotes her Creole heritage which is understandably an important component in her formulation of her label preference. In fact, at one point in a portion of the exchange not included above, Kim S. clearly explains.

> And being from New Orleans, where I'm from there's another designation. You also have Creole which is, depending on which definition you look at could be French & Spanish, *but all of us who really know, and know the right way to cook Gumbo*, know that it is French, it is Spanish, it is Native American, and it is African also.

She makes sure that her daughters understand the full scope of their heritage as well. Kim S. states that "my daughter can explain Creole and what that is and understand that she has some background in that and all those things. But she understands also that she is black." Kim S. admits that as a "fair-skinned African American" she identifies as black—further illustrating the complexities of the issue—however, she does not strictly do so because of her multiracial heritage and finding the label "black" to be more encompassing, but because she was not physically born in Africa nor can she go to Africa and identify a specific country or clan of origin. As the conversation ensues, Kim S. does make the point that creating the person she is today would require more than just her African ancestors. It is at this juncture in the conversation that Kim S. vocalizes understanding for Taylor's view by broadening her own identification to be that of the "African American/black experience in this country." Still, she finds some discomfort in the African prefix of the label proffering that it "muddle[s] that American part of it" and serves as a way for white Americans to ignore the realities of slavery and its hand in the birth and sustainment of this nation.

Taylor sees no qualitative difference in black or African American. Whether black or African American, the ancestral ties are of African origin; enslaved Africans brought to this hemisphere against their will. Taylor realizes that if a genealogy was conducted for her, her family tree would certainly bear white branches, black branches, Asian branches, etc., however, the essence of that tree are its African roots. Taylor believes in an African origin for black Americans and a universal black American experience born of those ancestral ties. Whether one labels herself black or African American, a universal experience similarly binds each individual.

Taylor passes on this same ideology to her youngest daughter. After visiting an African American museum's Rosa Parks' exhibit, Taylor's daughter, who is of a lighter complexion than herself (more closely resembling Taylor's husband's complexion), remarks:

> Mom, me and dad we could drink out of the white people fountain, but you'd have to drink out of the colored people fountain." [To which Taylor remarks] Did you realize that you came from a dark momma? [Laughter] You black, you black! You came from a dark momma. You black all day.

Whatever the skin color or complexion, Taylor informs her daughter that her origin is what is essential and what matters. Though her skin may be lighter, Taylor admonishes her daughter that she bore her, making the girl black, not white. Thus, she would have been required to drink from the colored fountain as well. Ultimately, Taylor offers to the other mothers in the group that the essence of who she is and of how she identifies herself relies upon three components: "Black, female, and qualified."

For Lola C. a universal experience binds not just black Americans, but all Americans. The paleohistoric record demonstrates that the earliest Hominin remains were found in present-day Ethiopia. Lola C. reasons that this fact makes it feasible to call all Americans, African American and is the basis for her preference of American—black American if she has to be racially categorized. Lola C. perceives racial labeling to be a burden orchestrated by external forces: agencies, institutions and people (not racialized people) who have something to gain by forcing individuals to check particular boxes. In another part of the exchange not included above, Lola C. responds with this sentiment when Kim S. mentions seeing family birth certificates which categorize one relative as Negro, another as Afro-American, and others as black by stating "Cause it's what the Census has allowed. Those little boxes they want to put us in." This same sentiment comes up when Lola C. mentions how she discussed people having different skin colors with her daughter when she was five.

> And we were trying to go through who's black and who's white cause society puts you in a box and this box says that this is what you are even though your skin is something else…And I ask her what color is Priya [a classmate from India who is darker than Lola's daughter] and she says Priya is black now because of the box. I said "and now I have to give you, there's another box. And they put all Indian people and Chinese people", and I had to give her a Chinese child's name. We just went through how, this is how society, the United States of America puts you in a box and this is what they say you are even though your skin color may not be that. . .

For Lola C. it is clear that racial labeling rests within an external locus of control, that the larger society forces racialized people to choose problematic labels. These problematic labels further complicate the issue as Lola attempts to make sense of a racialized society for her young 5 year old daughter who sees authenticity and accuracy in categorizing people by skin color.

In another focus group, mothers also had a very spirited back and forth about racial identification and labeling. Views offered by Kim S., Taylor, and Lola C. can be found echoed below by Natasha, Auntie, Mac, and Toni, but with nuanced differences. Toni and Taylor share very similar positions about the synonymy of the terms black and African American, that they are basically interchangeable. Auntie and Lola C. share the basic view that the label depends upon the bureaucratic whims of the government and should not be given hefty credence, but they part ways as to the reason why each woman holds this particular view. Natasha and Mac would have probably found Kim S. and Lola C.'s label preferences somewhat bothersome and problematic, most likely surmising that those who have strong inclinations toward the American or black labels fundamentally lack a sense of pride for their African ancestry. In response to the question of how each would racially identify Natasha, Auntie, Mac, and Toni, had the following to say:

> Natasha: Black.
>
> Auntie: Black.
>
> Mac: Black.

Toni: African American.

Auntie:Well, I might say African American.

CBF: Okay. Now why would you maybe say--why black, maybe African American?

Auntie: Because that's what's on paperwork these days… And I also might say a person of color because we have very few diverse groups in [her city] but we're all considered persons of color. So I try to let my children know that if someone says black, it's not offensive. I don't want them to be offended by anything they're called. I don't care if they're called a nigger. I don't want them to be offended by that because this means that and that's not what you are.

Mac: Exactly.

Auntie: But there was an Indian [from India] boy that they--at that school. They call him black. He's as dark as my daughter and he says, "I'm not black." And she [my daughter] said, "Why do you have to say it like that?" And so, as much negativity as they give her, I give her positive on this side.

Natasha: Yeah, I was in a diversity class within the last year and we talked openly about different things like you just asked and one lady, she's black, she would not accept African American. I mean, she just fumed at the very two words, African and American. Do not address her as that…And I never could figure out why. She never really just--she said, "I'm not African! I am an American but I am black." And she did not want African American. But that bothered me…

Toni: Wow!

Mac: Well she--'cause she kind of disconnected herself with that African heritage, which a lot of us do because there was no real--it's not like going to Ohio or going down south to Tennessee or Alabama where you got a connection…So--and maybe that's offensive to her. Maybe the images…

Natasha: I think it was offensive to her.

Mac: But I think when people have negative images about Africa, that's when it becomes, "I ain't African."

Natasha: Yes!

Mac: What's African? It's just part of an origin. I mean, somebody's Irish, somebody's whatever. And--but back to being African American or black or colored or person of color, at the end of the day you are what you are. I mean, when it's somebody else that's looking at you, so whether they think you're black or they think you're a nigger or Negro, person of color, it is still there. So I don't know. It doesn't really matter to me.

Toni: Yeah, for me it's all the same, black or African American, they're the same.

Of all seven women, Toni has the least polemic view when it comes to racial labels. This is something that is also found in an interaction with her young daughter. Toni stated that her daughter once asked "What am I? I told her you are a smart, beautiful, young, African American girl. She tells me someone at school said that I'm black. Which is it momma? I said to her both! Either or baby girl, they both mean the same thing."

Auntie takes a pragmatic view when it comes to racial labels and preferences. Initially when asked about how she racially identifies she states "Black." However, upon hearing Toni's response, Auntie offers that she too "might say African American" simply because it is the term that—in her experience—appears most often on documents requesting for her to disclose her racial identity. Here, Auntie and Lola C. share the basic belief that racialized persons acquiesce to the proclivities of agencies, bureaucracies, and institutions when checking the race box, however, they sharply part ways as to the reasons for holding such a belief. For Auntie, however innocuous or epithetical the racial label, one should not take offense. Being true to one's self and comfortable in one's skin is what matters. Auntie's pragmatism may have been shaped by her daughter's experience with a young Indian-American classmate proclaiming that he wasn't black in response to the "taunting" and "teasing" of his peers. From the reported exchange between Auntie and her daughter, it is quite evident that the vociferousness with which the young boy protested his non-blackness—his otherness—unsettled both Auntie and her daughter. So much so that Auntie felt compelled to combat "as much negativity as they give her" with "positive on this side" by emphasizing the importance of knowing who and what you are. Taking offense at being called or labeled black has a long history in our nation and signifies a desire to align with whiteness, not otherness. Even with the increasing numbers of

Hispanic/Latino Americans and Asian Americans, the black-white dichotomy has not receded and the polarization it has produced is deepening. Recently, some members of racialized groups have taken offense with even being referred to as persons of color. Therefore, it is this reality that Auntie seeks to prepare her daughter for, one which treats anything associated with blackness as repulsive, unwanted, and less than.

Natasha prefers the label black, but became offended when another black woman vehemently opposed the African American designation. Mac offered that perhaps the woman who didn't care for the African American label did so because of associating negative images with all things African or because of not having a physical connection to Africa. Natasha agreed that this could explain why the woman was offended, that perhaps the woman's limited understanding of Africa and her possible consumption of racist narratives about the continent disconnected her from accepting and embracing her African heritage. Mac and Natasha might also see Kim S. and Lola C.'s explanations in the same vein. Often in the African American community there are those who are quick to foreground their multiracial heritage and background their African origins. For many black Americans such an exercise speaks to an internalized racism or self-hatred that sprouts from the Woodsonian *miseducation*[9]. Yet, Natasha is careful to make sure that she and her daughters don't fall into such a trap. She finds it quite important to be grounded and connected to other African Americans. Natasha didn't want "myself or the girls to be alienated" by being a pioneer family when they moved to their suburban community, so she sought out neighborhoods that were racially diverse, but with a noticeable African American population.

[9] This refers to Carter G. Woodson's 1933 seminal work *The Mis-Education of the Negro* in which he theorizes that "[t]he problem of holding the Negro down, therefore, is easily solved. When you control a man's thinking you do not have to worry about his actions. You do not have to tell him not to stand here or go yonder. He will find his "proper place" and will stay in it. You do not need to send him to the back door. He will go without being told" (1933/1990, p. xiii).

Mac prefers the label black and is quick to point out, to others and to her youngest daughter, the importance of Africa to the black American experience.

> In our house, well we've always had black images. My mother's very involved in Africa. She's there right now. [My daughter], as a matter of fact, is going this summer…And I said--I said, "Imagine, you go over there. You're gonna be in a country where everybody's black. Everybody! The doctors, the lawyers, the Indian chiefs, [laughter] the Indians, everybody. You're no longer a minority. You're in a place that's being run by us and this is a big, huge city." So I think it's gonna be a good thing for her.

Mac was reared with an affinity for Africa and hopes to instill that feeling in her daughter. Yet, the term black seems to be more salient than African American for Mac. With the continent being so central to her formation, it would seem that emphasizing the African connection would be vital. Perhaps this discrepancy is simply demonstrative of the nonlinear nature of arriving at one's preference for African American or black. Or perhaps Mac *does* emphasize the African origin.

> "Being African American or black or colored or person of color, at the end of the day you are what you are. I mean, when it's somebody else that's looking at you, so whether they think you're black or they think you're a nigger or Negro, person of color, *it* is still there."

No matter how you choose to label yourself, as a black American, "it" (the African origin) is bound up in all these labels, ones selected by blacks and ones applied to blacks by non-blacks, according to Mac.

Summary

From "Negro" to "colored" to "Afro-American" to "black" to "African American," these are the labels imposed upon or selected by those who have been ascribed this particular racial identity. The labels have always been problematic and viewed as misnomers by some. The

conversations reflected in this chapter are testaments to this assertion. Mothers grapple with these labels and how they may reflect or impede progress. To be black should require black skin, but where on earth does a black-skinned individual reside? Perhaps our American racial categories should reflect gradations in skin tone instead of (in the case of blacks and whites) stark colors for which no one person on earth truly possesses. This is perhaps one facet of Lola C.'s fundamental argument when she states to her young daughter, "this is how society, the United States of America puts you in a box and this is what they say you are even though your skin color may not be that. . ." Some mothers believe that to be African American should require one to have physically come from the continent while others believe that a person's ancestry is important. Kim S. is of the former opinion, "…I do not identify myself as African American, I identify myself as black. The reason is because I find that to be African American you must have come from Africa." Yet, Mac is of the latter opinion, "What's African? It's just part of an origin. I mean, somebody's Irish, somebody's whatever." And then there are those individuals who may have high level of internalized racism and totally abhor the notion that one could/should identify with any derivative of the word "Africa" as a prefix. The issue of label preference best exemplifies that American blacks or African Americans are not a monolithic group coalescing behind one idea. African Americans have varied opinions about and reasons for selecting one label over another. The two exchanges presented here demonstrate why researchers must acknowledge and examine within-group differences, something this study elucidates.

The complexity of racial identification and label preference cannot be overstated. As these two excerpts have demonstrated there are no hard and fast algorithms for preferring one label over another or having no particular preference, each individual has her on heuristic for

deciding what best reflects her racial identity. Comparing and contrasting these two focus group exchanges gives us some insight into the experiences that impact how these mothers conceive their racial identity and how they have attempted to transfer their racial identity onto their daughters.

What it means to be a black female. As mothers articulated their label preferences they also discussed what it means to be a black female. Harkening back to some past event to explain the present understanding of one's racial-gender identity was a common refrain amongst these women. Lola S. focuses on pivotal experiences she's had when attempting to explain what being an African American woman means to her. From growing up in a predominantly black community to attending a predominantly white, private high school and then heading off to Maine for college, she feels that these varied experiences have made her the African American woman she is today. Lola S. states that she is prepared to go and be a black woman anywhere because she "feel[s] like I could live in any community 'cause really I have just about lived in all kind of communities. . .it doesn't matter where I go. I can live there." She is aware of the images that others have of African American women and she's well aware of the images that African American women have of themselves, "images that either we project or have been projected upon us." For Lola S. it appears that she regards her identity as one of being an international woman, secure in her self-appraisal while being acutely aware of the images others may ascribe to her. She grounds her identity in her varied experiences and feels that it is bolstered by African American kinship and shared values. Lola S. clearly displays an Internalization racial identity worldview that reflects the acceptance of, and positive attitudes toward being black (Simmons et al., 2008). I would speculate that Cross (2001) would determine that Lola S. possesses a Multiculturalist Inclusive-Internalization attitude because she

demonstrates, by virtue of her varied residential experiences, that she respects the larger black community as well as other cultural groups. The fact that Lola S's "values, beliefs, and abilities determine the quality of her womanhood" (Ossana et al., 1992, p. 403) suggests that she has entered the Internalization stage of the womanist identity model (Helms, 1990). It is clear that Lola S. attempts to transmit the same racial identity attitude to her daughter as she discusses what she believes it means for her daughter to be a young, black girl in America. Lola S. responds that her daughter will "have to work twice as hard and do things twice as well as the next group of people, especially Caucasian people because as an African American, everything that you [do has] to be two times better or ten times better than someone in the next group." This statement reflects her acceptance of being black and the reality that many African Americans face in a white-normed society. Lola S.'s daughter is aware of the images that prevail about blacks in American society. She illustrates this point.

> My child was very observant. My child can point out to me on the news, 'Mom, why is it that every time an African American's on the news, it's negative?' But then when someone of some different race does something we either don't see them or it's not reported as much or it's positive.

Lola S.'s daughter has picked up on her mother's realization that visuals/images go a long way in influencing the black girl's racial identity and in shaping her self-concept.

Monique also references a prior event as she attempts to explain why she is a proud black woman; a woman who "try[s] to talk about African Americans a lot because I am proud of who I am. Whenever I see a black person accomplishing something, like the President, I talk about it every single day." Her exuberant pride is an outgrowth of her father's internalized racism.

> My dad was the first African American man [in the small Georgia town] to own his own business. We lived near KKK members. They poured pig's blood on our porch, would steal our pets. Even with all of these racist things happening…my dad was not proud to be black. My mother was the only black woman my father ever dated and they divorced

> in 1985. My dad didn't want to be black, he wanted to become white. In his mind he felt that this [whites] was the superior race and that you needed to mimic white people.

To counter her father's self-hatred, Monique's mother worked hard to instill a sense of racial pride. Her mother made sure she knew about her culture and heritage, always telling Monique to "be proud of who you are no matter what goes on, you should be proud to be black even though people say we are inferior, you should be proud to be black." It is perhaps her father's disdain for his race and her mother's dogged determination to fill Monique with a strong self-concept and racial identity that led her to be "proud to be black [and] fight the power." For Monique, responding directly to what it means to be a *black woman* requires primarily discussing *what it means to be black* without necessarily highlighting her gender. Considering Monique's experiences as a young girl in Georgia, being terrorized by the Ku Klux Klan and how that terror wrecked havoc on her father's psyche, coupled with her mother's consistent reinforcement of racial pride, one can understand why *blackness* might have greater identity salience for her than *black woman*. Since Monique has not explicitly privileged her black identity *and* female identity, her racial identity might perhaps be measured as Afrocentricity-Internalization whereby the person lives by Afrocentric principles (Simmons et al., 2008). Analyzing remarks made by Monique as the focus group continued, it would appear that she is in the early part of the Immersion-Emersion stage of the womanist identity model. In the Immersion half of the Immersion-Emersion stage the woman "[actively rejects] male-supremacist definitions of womanhood (regardless of their source)…[yet has not begun to] search for a positive, self-affirming definition of womanhood [nor] intense affiliations for women" (Ossana et al., 1992, p. 403). This point is better illustrated as Monique discusses what it means for her daughter to be a little black girl in a predominantly white school. Monique tells her daughter that she has to have "tough skin. Take out race; you're already a minority because you're a woman/young girl. Be

proud of your heritage, be proud of who you are, individualize yourself. . .You can be who you are, outspoken, quiet, whomever you are, be the person you are." Monique has not bought into male supremacist definitions of womanhood as she tells her daughter that she can portray normative gender roles or alternative gender roles, she has the power and the freedom to decide, but she must be true to who she is.

Several mothers referenced their own mothers when expressing what they believe it means to be a black woman. Paris speaks directly about how her mother influenced her understanding of what it means to be a black woman.

> You know, my mother had always carried herself in a proud way…My mother's always carried herself a proud woman. So I think just seeing that taught me, not necessarily us having a specific conversation 'cause I don't recall growing up struggling with like race or gender… just seeing that and growing up with that role model taught me.

The way in which her mother "carried herself" defined for Paris what it means to be a black woman. Paris would most likely land within the Multiculturalist Inclusive-Internalization worldview on the CRIS (Simmons et al., 2008) and measure along the Internalization stage in the WIAS as she has developed a "personally meaningful internal standard of womanhood" (Ossana et al., 1992, p. 404). The figure of Paris' mother as the archetypal black woman looms large for her. At other points during the focus group discussion Paris invokes her mother as a role model and uses her mother as the standard by which she tries to demonstrate for her own young daughter what it means to be a black woman.

> To reproduce being proud of being black and being a female and just being a positive role model. But I think that I do, do more. There's a more conscious effort, I think, on my part than my mother's part, I think again because of where we are. We don't—[my daughter] doesn't go to a predominantly black school. We don't live in a predominantly black neighborhood.

Paris acts to imbue black-female identity with the same meaning for her daughter as she gleaned from her mother. She believes that this is a much more concerted effort on her part than that

which her mother did for her. Paris attributes this fact to raising her daughter in a predominantly white community as opposed to the predominantly black one she was raised in.

Mac also talks of her mother's influence in determining what is means to be a black female, but also what that identity means in terms of relating to a father who was often absent due to military service.

> We're strong and very independent women and part of that was taught because my father was in the military and my mother primarily raised us…But she also, in being strong, black women also taught me how to maintain respect for him because my father, even though he was 7,000 or 8,000 miles away, all she had to do was say, "Your dad's gonna be really disappointed.

Mac's mother was conscientious of how the absence of Mac's father could lead to disrespect and disobedience. For Mac, part of what it meant to be a black female rested upon showing reverence and deference to her father, even in his absence. Therefore, being a strong black woman required forging ahead, providing for and rearing children, even without one's helpmate. Mac possesses an Internalization racial identity worldview that reflects the acceptance of, and positive attitudes toward being black (Simmons et al., 2008). I would speculate that Cross (2001) would determine that Mac possesses at least a Biculturalist Inclusive-Internalization attitude (although this is one CRIS attitude that is not measured by the metric) because she privileges her black identity as well as her female identity. Mac is also clearly located in the Internalization stage of the WIAS as she has developed a "personally meaningful internal standard of womanhood" (Ossana et al., 1992, p. 404). Mac seems to pass along to her daughter what it means to be a black female by rooting her within a black experience[10] at home and abroad as evidenced by her previous thoughts regarding visiting a country in Africa where everyone was

[10] I do not believe that there is such a thing as a monolithic black experience. When referring to a/the black experience, I am asserting that it is a reality that is multifaceted but with several commonalities shared by persons identifying or identified as black/African American.

black and where her daughter could experience being in the majority as opposed to a numerical minority.

Another mother who spoke to the centrality of a mother figure in coming to understand what it means to be a black woman in America was Renee. Renee's grandmother told her that she "was equal to everyone else and that God made people in different shades and different sizes and that no one was any better than myself. And to hold my head up and to be proud of my heritage…that I was just as good as or maybe even better than everybody else and that I was pretty." As a dark complexioned woman, Renee faced issues with colorism as she grew up. Colorism is "intraracial discrimination based on skin color, [which] continues to divide and shape life experiences within the African American community" (Thomas & Ketih, 2001, p. 337). Originating with the enslavement of Africans as way to divide and conquer, colorism still affects the African American community in a myriad of ways; however, it does exist outside the black community. Renee's grandmother actively worked to counter the negative effects of it on her. Renee has passed on this message from her grandmother to one of her daughters. She mentions that "for my daughter, based on what my lesson was, I always tell her how pretty and how beautiful she is. . ." Since Renee has a keen understanding of what it means to be a dark-skinned black woman, she definitely registers on the Internalization worldview of the CRIS and the Internalization stage of the WIAS.

One mother did speak of her father's influence in her understanding of what it means to be a black female. Vicky spoke of how her father delivered, ad nauseam, a message about what it means to be a black female in America. A message whose great importance she has since come to realize.

> One important thing that I got from my dad in particular, which used to drive me nuts as a kid but now I kind of get it, he always used to refer to my sister and I as Miss America.

> And back in the day nobody even thought there could be a black Miss America. But I think from some of his words he was giving us the message that we're human. We're fully human, just like anybody else of any other color and I think that was why sometimes he referred to us the way he did.

Vicky's father understood that she and her sister did not reflect the standard American beauty ideal as epitomized by the Miss Americas. As a way to counter that narrative, Vicky's father referred to his daughters as "Miss America" demonstrating that they were just as beautiful as any other woman upon whom that title might be bestowed. He sent the message that any young black girl could aspire to be Miss America—that the sheer force of humanity made it so. Vicky does not appear to transmit such a pronounced message to her own daughter. As a matter of fact Vicky chooses to focus on more egalitarian messages such as emphasizing a demand for respect as a woman, more so than as an African American woman, as demonstrated when shared that "even more so than connected with race, just as a young woman, just kind of expect and kind of demand respect. And I don't mean in any kind of overt way. Just don't tolerate the disrespect." It is clear that Vicky fits squarely in the Internalization stage of the WIAS and possesses a Multiculturalist Inclusive-Internalization racial identity attitude as she has internalized her father's message, yet has gone beyond a race-specific narrative when engaging her daughter's identity.

Summary

From these excerpts of various focus group conversations, mothers have developed their black female identity from childhood experiences, their interpretations of their own mother's presentations of black female identity, and messages from other family members. These mothers suggest that being a black female in America means strength, independence, beauty, courage, and surety of self and purpose. The majority of mothers participating in these focus groups appear to try to influence the development of their own daughters' racial-gender identity by

transmitting the same or similar messages. Black women have long had to strike a delicate balance between "feminine" and "masculine" qualities; between being a caretaker of the family, community, and race alongside doing hard labor and remunerative work. Mothers seem to realize the importance of striking a delicate balance between normative and alternative gender roles and are training their daughters to be able to do the same. It is from this recognition of the multidimensionality of the black-female identity and experience that mothers are preparing their daughters to be "strong black women" and not "strong women." A couple of mothers did report that they intentionally downplay the double-minority aspect of their daughters' racial-gender identity so as to not send the erroneous message that black females must work harder than whites because black females are "less than." These same mothers shared that they believe their daughters have no concept of race beyond noticing that people have different skin color, yet as their focus group conversations wore on they realized that their girls in fact have had experience with racial issues beyond what they originally considered to be innocuous.

From the beginning of this study the development of a black-female identity metric resonated with me. There is also a dearth of literature on this topic. A Black-woman identity interference scale was created by Settles (2006) to "assess the degree to which being black and being a woman interfered with each other" (p. 592); however it does not provide a theoretical model for the development of this intersectional identity nor an instrument. The womanist identity metric used in this study is only but a starting point for this field as it is the only identity instrument predicated upon a model that comes close to capturing the identity development of black females. Because "the intersectional perspective suggests that black women may see themselves more in terms of this combined, unique identity than additively as black people and women," (Settle, 2006, p. 590) I believe that a model and metric clearly focused on black-female

identity development needs to be devised. Not a metric simply predicated on the idea that the "womanist model may be applied to a more diverse group of women because it is not limited by the requirement that a woman adopt the term "feminist,"…and may, therefore, be more appropriate for, or relevant to, the Black woman's experience" (Boisnier, 2003, p. 212). A model and metric with black females as its center and subject is what is needed, not merely as an after-thought or object. It is my goal to move this field of study forward based upon the preliminary insights gained from this project.

Chapter 6

Bridging the Qualitative & Quantitative Results-Racial Socialization

A mixed methods approach to identifying the strategies that African American mothers use to promote a positive racial identity in their elementary-age daughters attending a predominantly white school gives detail to the quantitative findings and situates the qualitative findings within a larger context. Descriptive and inferential statistics amassed through the 106 surveys are brought to life when connected to the words and lived experiences of the 21 mothers participating in the focus group discussions.

This chapter seeks to bridge the two set of findings for a more nuanced understanding of the processes of parental racial socialization and their roles in helping mothers promote a positive racial identity in their elementary-age daughters attending a predominantly white school. To do so, this chapter:

1. Begins by providing examples of the Parent-CARES messages mothers reported receiving and the modes by which the messages were conveyed

2. Presents examples of Parent-CARES messages transmitted and modalities used

3. The section concludes by examining the six Parent-CARES subscales frequencies to determine if statistical support exists for the individual subscale messages that emerged during the focus group discussions.

Racial Socialization Messages

Parental racial socialization occurs across three distinct milieus of our sociopolitical structure: the dominant culture, the minority status experience, and the Afrocentric experience.

Boykin and Toms (1985) named this phenomenon the *triple quandary*. The content of parental racial socialization messages can be categorized as four types: 1) cultural socialization; 2) preparation for bias; 3) promotion of mistrust; and 4) egalitarianism. The terminology reflecting these four types of messages is in keeping with Hughes et al.'s (2006) admonishment that to advance the literature in this area it is imperative that we "use more precise and descriptive terminology" when referring to the messages we are examining (p. 749). In an effort to push the literature further I attempt to relate Hughes et al.'s four message types to Boykin and Toms' triple quandary. Explicit connection of the four types of parental racial socialization messages and the domains to which they are most applicable appears to be missing from the existing scholarship. This study articulates the association between message type and socialization domain. In linking Hughes et al. (2006) and Boykin and Toms' (1985) work, the following have been determined:

- Cultural socialization messages refer to information regarding racial heritage, history, and traditions and they reflect the Afrocentric/cultural experience orientation.

- Preparation for bias messages refer to information regarding racial inequities and ways of coping and they reflect the minority status orientation.

- Promotion of mistrust messages refer to information regarding distrusting interracial interactions and they also reflect a minority status orientation.

- Egalitarian messages refer to equality, individual qualities, and peaceful coexistence and they reflect all three orientations.

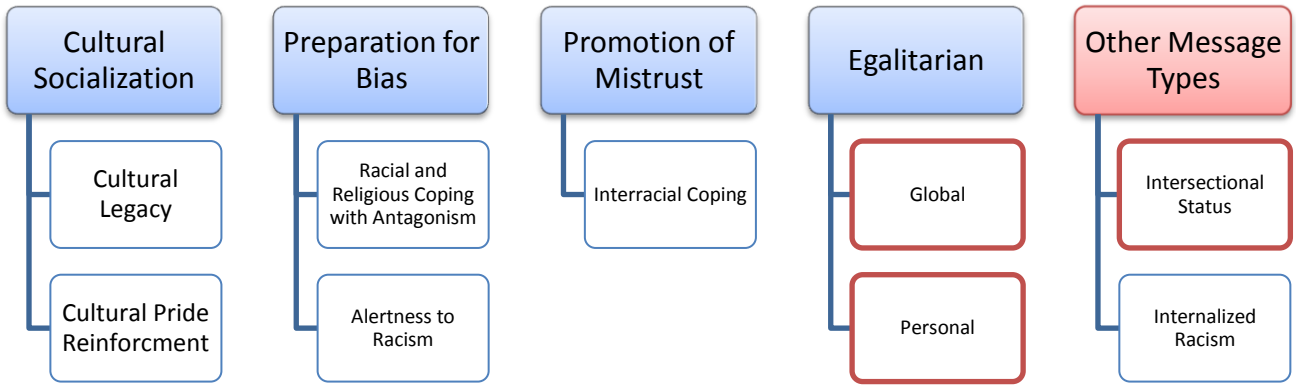
Mothers transmit racial socialization messages using a variety of methods—these methods constitute the strategies that promote the development of a racial identity. Messages

can be transmitted utilizing the strategies of *modeling*, *exposure*, *role-playing* and *verbal communication* (Coard et al., 2004; Hughes et al., 2006; Lesane-Brown, 2006). Modeling consists of demonstrating behavior to be intimated (e.g. proper cultural etiquette when interacting with elders). Exposure is bringing the child into contact with various environments or social situations (e.g. attending culturally-specific/Afrocentric activities or celebrations). Role-playing is the acting out of a specific role when faced with a particular situation or setting (e.g. having the "child respond with desirable behaviors to hypothetical situations" (Coard et al., 2004). Verbal communication is the use of direct or indirect conversations.

To ascertain which message types were received/transmitted and the modes of reception/transmission, mothers completed the Parents' Cultural and Racial Experiences of Socialization (CARES) for parents and caregivers (Stevenson and Bentley, 2007). The Parent-CARES measures parental message transmission frequency, parental reception frequency, and gender-specific racial socialization along six subscales: *Alertness to Racism, Racial and Religious Coping with Antagonism, Cultural Legacy, Cultural Pride Reinforcement, Internalized Racism,* and *Interracial Coping*. The higher the score in a subscale, the higher the degree of endorsement of that message type. To determine if the survey metric reflects the actual messages mothers say they received/transmit, the focus group transcripts were analyzed for examples of the four broad message types. Again, being mindful of Hughes et al.'s suggestion of precision and specificity in conducting research in this area, it is necessary to relate the six Parent-CARES subscales to the four broad message types (See Figure 6.1). Cultural socialization messages are represented by the *Cultural Legacy* and *Cultural Pride Reinforcement* subscales; Preparation for bias messages are reflected in the *Alertness to Racism* and *Racial and Religious Coping with Antagonism* subscales; and Promotion of mistrust messages are embodied

in the *Interracial Coping* subscale. Therefore, examples of the four broad messages were disaggregated into 1 or 2 Parent-CARES subscales. Although the Parent-CARES subscales do not specifically measure Egalitarian messages, mothers did receive these types of messages and transmit numerous messages of this type (as will be evidenced by the excerpts incorporated into this section). Egalitarian messages were either global in scope or personally specific. Mothers received/transmitted message types that were not easily subsumed under the aforementioned types. A category of "Other message types" was created. This category is comprised of the *Internalized Racism* subscale and *Intersectional Status* messages. Mothers reported receiving and transmitting messages reflecting Internalized Racism or messages deflecting Internalized Racism. Mothers also received/transmitted messages that spoke directly to being a black female (Intersectional Status), as opposed to being singularly black or female.

Figure 6.1: Existing Message Typologies as Connected to the Focus Group Findings



The excerpts below best exemplify cultural socialization, preparation for bias, promotion of mistrust, egalitarian, & other message types (intersectional status and internalized racism) received and transmitted by mothers in this study.

Cultural socialization messages received. Messages in this category are characterized by cultural legacy and cultural pride reinforcement. Examples from the Parent-CARES metric that reflect these themes are: "Knowing your African heritage is important for the survival of Black people" (*CL*); "You should be proud to be Black" (*CP*).

Cultural legacy. Mothers remember receiving messages about heritage and history in the form of stories told by mothers, fathers, or grandmothers, or through direct instruction. Monique speaks about coming to understand the significance of her heritage through stories her mother shared of harrowing experiences in the Jim Crow South.

> Mother told me stories of going to stores in Birmingham, AL and white people standing outside the store to take the purchases she made and about being hosed down with fire hoses.

Rita, Mac, Christina, and Lola S. each learned of their cultural legacy through direct instruction from parents or the types of books available in the households of their upbringing.

For Rita, her parents "always stressed knowing your roots, because without roots you're nothin'. I know from whence I came and that's a very important part about who I am." Mac speaks of the importance of giving back as a reflection of what she was taught, "But that was part of my role in the community, giving back. That's something I've always been taught in my household is community service, being politically involved." Christina always knew her history yet it became very important as she went off to college, "as far as like African American versus--I knew my history and everything…" Lola S. received direct instruction about the historic role of education in the uplift of the African American community.

> I just think one of the other lessons thinking probably that my parents taught me, at least instilled in me, was an importance of education from--as an African American…But education and learning has always been instilled and I think that came from my grandmother 'cause my grandmother was a sharecropper and only got about a fourth grade education before her mother died… And I mean, all of that was just a

reinforcement of education and how important it is to learn about your history as well as about just education in school in general.

Reception modes for cultural legacy messages. The four common modes of message transmission and reception are verbal communication, modeling, exposure, and role-playing (Coard et al., 2004; Hughes et al., 2006; Lesane-Brown, 2006). It would appear that Monique received cultural legacy messages via verbal expression, since she recounts that "mother told me stories." Rita also seems to intimate that verbal communication is the primary means by which her parents "stressed" knowing one's roots. However, it is possible that cultural legacy messages were also received by her via exposure and modeling strategies. Stressing knowledge of one's roots could have taken the form of taking Rita to various cultural events, taking trips to places of cultural significance, or learning the importance of one's roots by mimicking the behavior of her parents. Mac was definitely given direct instruction by her mother on the virtues of serving the African American community as well as given exposure to what it means to be politically active. Mac has shared that her mother is very involved in Africa; surely Mac developed her sense of cultural legacy through exposure to Africa (as she has traveled internationally), visiting local places of cultural significance, and her mother's behavior as a model for Mac's own. Role-playing may also have been a mode of receiving cultural legacy messages for Mac, particularly when it came political involvement. She and her mother may have practiced/rehearsed how to go door-to-door, hand out leaflets, or engage someone in a political discussion. Christina suggests that she always "knew" her African American history. She does not make clear how she "knew," yet it is possible that verbal communication was the primary mode of reception. Her parents could have also used exposure strategies. Lola S. shares quite succinctly that exposure strategies were what her family used to covey cultural legacy messages.

> We've always had books in our house. I can remember as a child having--if we didn't have anything else, and we grew up in the South very poor, and--but in spite of that, we always had bookcases… my mom still has, again, those Ebony pictorial history of African Americans or blacks--Ebony pictorial encyclopedias…whatever they're called. I think there's four of 'em. There's four brown books. That's what I used to use for African American history. And they kept all the old Ebony magazines when they used to be this big [gesturing tabloid size].

Cultural pride reinforcement. Being proud of one's heritage and culture was a common thread throughout the various focus group discussions and the one phone interview. Monique's mother "always said to be proud of who you are, no matter what goes on, you should be proud to be black" as would Rita's mother as evidenced when she shared, "Momma would always say, 'You are to always hold your head up, no matter what.' Black folks have come through the fire and we're still standing. Africa was raped and pillaged but still standing. It's an amazing thing and it ought to be celebrated." Renee was told by her grandmother "to hold my head up and to be proud of my heritage." Paris began by stating that she could not "really recall a specific lesson that my parents taught me when it comes to being an African American or being a female," yet continued her statement with "but I think they taught me just by their example. They're both proud of who they are and where they come from and being African American." For Lashawn's mother the utmost demonstration of cultural pride was by keeping her vocabulary devoid of the word nigger in reference to other African Americans: "I know Mother never liked that n-word."

Reception modes for cultural pride reinforcement messages. Lashawn made it quite clear that she received these message of cultural pride via verbal communication when she shared that her mother would say, "And don't ever have that [the n-word] in your vocabulary." Monique, Rita, and Renee, received their messages through verbal communication as they shared that "mother always said" or "momma would always say." Paris remembers that she was not

necessarily told anything specific, but that her parents "taught me just by their example. They're both proud of…being African American." This would suggest that she received this message via the unconscious or conscious modeling by her parents.

Preparation for bias messages received. Messages in this category are characterized by racial and religious coping with antagonism and alertness to racism. Examples from the Parent-CARES metric that reflect these themes are statements such as: "You should ignore people that make racist comments" (*CA-Racial)*; "Train up a child in the way he should go, and he will not turn away from it" (*CA-Religious*); and "You have to work twice as hard as whites in order to get ahead in this world" (*AR*).

Racial & religious coping with antagonism. Messages in this category serve to help mothers survive as racial minorities in a racist and discriminatory society. The way in which Monique's mother helped her to cope with racial animosity was by "instill[ing] going to school, going as far educationally as possible…remember[ing] education is first, no matter what people may do to you, they can't take away your knowledge." Paris was shown that one way of coping with a racist society was by being proud. She shares, "I think just because I was raised by parents who were proud and set positive examples, that was just the lesson I guess for me, just seeing that and growing up with that role model--those role models." Therefore, Paris was shown how to carry herself in the face of racial adversity. Lola L.'s mother insisted that education was the key, yet the hardship and racial animus that Lola L. experienced made her rely upon her African American peers for support.

> I had trouble because my mom would always say, 'That's the better school district [the predominantly white].' But then as I grew up I realized what happened in those school districts weren't always good for me. But I tolerated it and I dealt with it because I knew my mother was trying to make a better way for my sister and I. But I realize now in the school setting--see we had a stronger bond as African American kids because we had networks within our schools the way I grew up.

Renee's grandmother worked to help her cope with colorism because, as she tells it, "I was self-conscious about my skin color being darker of the African Americans. And she [her grandmother] always taught me that I was beautiful." In this way Renee not only received a lesson on intraracial coping, but also interracial coping. As a darker complexioned African American woman, she not only had to gird herself against intraracial discrimination, but also a more virulent form of discrimination and racism at the end of the white person's gaze. In fact "Because White racism persists in the United States…Light skin can also work as social capital for women of color; more specifically, lighter skinned African American women are more privileged in the areas of education, income, and spousal status than their darker skinned counterparts" (Wilder & Cain, 2011, p. 581).

Mothers also received religious coping with antagonism messages. The messages are rooted in various biblical verses. Auntie learned the "lesson that God blessed the child that has his own." Taken from the lyrics to Billie Holiday's famous 1939 song, *God Bless the Child*, Auntie was taught those who do for themselves will be rewarded by God. In Luke 8:18 it is written to "Take heed therefore how ye hear: for whosoever hath, to him shall be given; and whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken even that which he seemeth to have" (King James Version). And in Matthew 25:29 it states that "For unto every one that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance: but from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath." Renee's religious coping message dealt with the idea that God created everyone equally. She was told "that God made people in different shades and different sizes and that no one was any better than myself." This concept is most likely rooted in Galatians 3:28 which reads, "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus." Such an idea helps one to cope with issues of inequality in the

physical world by encouraging the belief that God's judgment is omnipotent and in the end (the spiritual world/heaven), all people are the same—in God's eye—regardless of phenotypic traits or social location. The notion of black people suffering hardship in this world, only to be rewarded in the here-after has a long-standing tradition in the African American religious community (Fitch & Mandziuk, 1997; Cone, 2008).

Reception modes for racial & religious coping messages. For all, except one, of the above mentioned racial and religious coping with antagonism messages, it appears that they were received via verbal communication. Paris' message of racial coping was received by means of modeling.

Alertness to racism. As they grew up mothers were cautioned about racism. Kim S., unfortunately, learned very early the sting of racism. She recounts how she remembers being alerted to racism.

> For me I went to school one day and learned the n-word because that's where I learned it, I think I was in 2nd grade at the time and came home and then there were discussions pertaining to race and ignorant people and that's really kind of the education that I got. That there are people that are judgmental and they're ignorant.

Kim S.'s family quickly responded to her experience by explaining that she was a victim of ignorance. Toni's family also explained the origin of racism as ignorance. Toni shared with the group what she learned from her mother.

> My mother always told me there were ignorant people in the world who won't like you just because…just because you're black. Simply not knowing ANYTHING about you, and just won't like you no matter what--because of your color. So she would say, "You have to be careful when dealing with white people. You're black; people will always notice you, good, bad, or indifferent.

It would appear that Toni learned that skin color is what you will judged upon and all the negative stereotypes associated with black skin will come to bear; no white person will get to know the true Toni so take care when interacting with them. Lola S.'s family also instilled in her

a sense of unfairness in the ways in which whites and blacks will be judged in the larger society. She was told that because of this unfairness, blacks have to work much harder than whites to get ahead.

> As an African American person that you would have to work twice as hard and do things twice as well as the next group of people, especially Caucasian people because as an African American, everything that you did had to be two times better or ten times better than someone in the next group. And then everything you did would also be scrutinized and criticized and looked upon more closely, combed over more closely than someone doing something in the next group as far as your treatment goes.

Valerie, Tiffany, and Lola L.'s parents also alerted them to the difficulty of being black in America by instilling in them the notion that to be black in America means having to be exceptional. When asked about what message they received about being African American or black in America, they responded with the following:

> Valerie: Be strong and work twice as hard.
> Tiffany: I was going to say you have to be three times as better as anybody else just because you're black. You just have to be.
> Lola L.: I would same the same, just work hard at what you do. You definitely had to have your education and whatever you decided to do you had to be better at it than anyone else in the field.

Each of these women received the message that to excel as a person of color meant having to be better than others, but particularly their white counterparts. Lola L. reports her mother stressed the importance of education, but it too was bound up in the notion of availing herself of an education that would help her to outshine others in her chosen career field.

Reception modes for alertness to racism messages. In preparing their children for the minority-status experience, the parents of these women did so using verbal communication. The excerpts above capture the tone with which this preparation was meted out: indignantly, frank, and with force.

Promotion of mistrust messages received. Promotion of mistrust refers to messages that caution mothers about the pitfalls in trusting people of a different race. Messages of this domain suggest that whites are untrustworthy as well as are blacks who are overly friendly towards whites.

Interracial coping. Parents transmit messages regarding how to manage interracial relationships. Messages of this type contain admonishments such as "You have to watch what you say in front of White people" or "You can't trust Black people who act too friendly with White people." Several of the mothers spoke about how they learned to "deal" with or were counseled in dealing with white people. Ruth developed a disdain for whites rooted in stories her mother told and the assumptions she made as a result of those stories.

> I just always remember not liking the white girls and I believe that was put in me…I remember her [her mother] telling stories of working for white people, working for Jewish people. She never told stories of being mistreated as a black person. She always said she worked for "nice" white people, nice Jewish people. But she did have her prejudices and she would say those things to us. It was like a "hidden hatred" that I had based on the things that my mother said, she would say a lot of stereotypes about white people… Living in an all-black community & going to all-black schools I was never really exposed to whites or people of another race so I was just going off what my mother said and a lot of assumptions.

Natasha's current relationships with whites are tainted by experiences she had in college. She shared, "I remember an experience in college when they were just curious about my hair. And that bothered me so bad and I saw it then and I would see it now as they're being nosy and sometimes maybe condescending I think." Rita's evaluation of interracial relationships goes beyond personal anecdote to one of historical perspective. She stated, "Sure, I was told and I saw how white people have to be dealt with carefully. Look at all the destruction dealt the world at the hands of white folk. So, you have got to keep them distant…yet near." In her estimation, whites/Caucasians have historically demonstrated that they are not to be trusted. However, she

ends her statement by invoking one iteration of the maxim that one should keep their friends close and their enemies closer. Lashawn was raised to keep white people at arm's length. She stated that "the way I grew up is like you don't have nothing to do with them [whites] either. But I can't do that with her [her daughter]." Lashawn believes that managing distrustful relationships with whites is something her daughter should not be taught because of the multicultural world she inhabits. Quite a few mothers mentioned this generational shift in coping with interracial relationships: they are quite aware of the potential emotional and cultural landmines inherent in these relationships, yet they realize that their daughters inhabit a global community, and that fostering multicultural relationships requires transcending the black-white binary.

Reception modes for interracial coping messages. It is most likely that mothers received messages about how to cope with interracial relationships via verbal communication. Some, such as Lashawn, also likely received interracial coping messages through modeling. She probably witnessed how her parents and other adults in her life handled encounters with whites and learned, accordingly. It's also likely that Lashawn was privy to the language her parents used when evaluating the trustworthiness of certain white people and how they adjusted/modified interactions with these individuals.

Egalitarian messages received. Mainstream messages which emphasize interracial equality and peaceful coexistence fall within the purview of this category. Additionally, "[e]galitarian messages emphasize commonalities among all people, with a de-emphasis on race" (Lesane-Brown, 2006, p.413). These are the types of messages which speak to what it means to be fundamentally human, how to best actualize one's potential, and wanting the best for your offspring.

Global & personal. Mothers in this study reported that they received egalitarian messages. The bulk of egalitarian messages reflected either global attributes or personal attributes. Lesane-Brown (2006) refers to latter type of messages as self-development. Global egalitarian messages are quite general and could be transmitted by any parent to their child; personal egalitarian messages are particular and reflect a specific trait that the child possesses. The excerpts in the Table 6.1 reflect the two types of egalitarian messages. The bolded words/phrases demonstrate the egalitarian core of the message.

Reception modes for egalitarian messages. For Kim S., Auntie, Renee, and Christina it would appear that their egalitarian messages were received via verbal communication. They reference being taught or told the lessons excerpted above. Lola C. was likely also told that family is important, but her parents could have also modeled for her the importance of family and God by the ways in which her family functioned (e.g., family mealtimes taking precedence over other things) and by what she was exposed to (e.g., religious activities, family outings, etc.).

Table 6.1: Examples of Global and Personal Egalitarian Messages Mothers Report Receiving

Global egalitarian	Personal egalitarian
Kim S.: "…be a **contributing** person."	Auntie: "My mother definitely taught me that **the world doesn't owe you anything**, that you have to **go out and get** whatever it is you want."
Lola C.: "**Family is the most important thing**, **after God**, of course."	Toni: "My mother was always the best person she could be. **Dressed to the nines, articulate, proud. She would say "Look at me, follow what mother does**." You do that "do as I do." **Just always be your best self**, that's what I take away from her."
	Renee: "So that was my lesson from my grandmother that **I was just as good or maybe even better** than everybody else and that **I was pretty**."

	Christina: "I went to college and went to Michigan State where it was so diversified. And that's where it really came into play, **just to do my best** and, you know, like you said **just make sure that no matter what I'm doing, it's my best, try my hardest and just to be strong**. So my dad grew up in the South and so he's always been like, '**Okay, you got to make sure that you always try your hardest and you always compete to do your best**.' And so that was like the biggest, biggest lesson."

Other message types received. Two other types of messages that mothers reported receiving fell into the categories of intersectional status and internalized racism. Intersectional status reflects specific messages about being African American and female. These are specific notions about experiencing life at the nexus of race and gender, a racial-gender identity. In this study, internalized racism takes two forms: 1) internalizing negative stereotypes about being African American that leads one to believe that she is inferior to whites; and 2) experiencing/combating black-on-black prejudice.

Intersectional status. Intersectional status messages reflect the lived experience at the intersecting locations of race and gender. This type of message may express the positive and negative stereotypes associated with being a black female. Most of the mothers talked about having to work harder than whites and men in order to overcome questions about ability or competence of the black female. Lola C. shared that "one of the things she [her mother] emphasized was because I'm black and female I'll have to show and prove myself a lot harder to be noticed and to be recognized that I'm worthy for whatever it is that I'm doing." Sherry shared this same sentiment when she stated, "I was taught that you, being female and African American, you already got two strikes against you so you have to work extra hard." Lashawn's comment

followed the same vain but spoke specifically to the workplace when she mentioned, "That when you--start working you'll probably have some issues and it would be because you're a female. But you qualify and you go on and do what it is that you have to do--to get that job or finish school. Don't let that stop you." Toni further illustrates the complexity of being a black female when she said "…and I think most of that was wrapped up in 'you're a black girl, you always have to look your best.' You know, because people will have low expectation because you are a black woman so you have to come out the box like 'Wu sahhh!' ninja warrior [all laugh]. Like I'm kicking butt and taking names, but very lady-like." Being a black female means putting on one's battle armor, showing strength, yet in a way that is non-threatening and will not be labeled as emasculating.

Other mothers spoke to the oft repeated traits that black women are believed to possess. For Kim S. and Mac, when asked what lesson they were taught about being black women, it was strength and independence. Specifically, Kim S. stated, "I would say being independent and able to take care of yourself." Mac shared that "we're strong and very independent women and part of that was taught because my father was in the military and my mother primarily raised us…but she did everything and I think it's good and I think it's bad because I think we've become too independent. I mean, I can put in toilets. I can do light fixtures." For Natasha, it was to be able to be financially independent no matter the woman's relationship status.

> It's funny, we all kind of talk about our moms, but my mom taught me and my sister especially always have your own. Always have something for yourself no matter who you're with or not with, have something of your own. And that meant stashing a little bit of money and also keeping good credit so no matter what, you could get what you wanted on your own in time.

Taylor and Vicky's lessons reflect countering pernicious stereotypes about black women. Taylor mentioned how her mother instilled in her the importance of not becoming another

statistic. Taylor stated that "my mother was a single parent and her first thing to me every day was good morning, I love you and don't have any children out of wedlock, and so that is the most important thing that she said to me." For Vicky, her father wanted to make sure saw the beauty in her black, female self when she shared that "he always used to refer to my sister and I as Miss America. And back in the day nobody even thought there could be a black Miss America…" However, from her mother Vicky was given the message that she must always present her best self, publicly. This is apparent as she continued by saying, "on the other hand, I think from my mother it was a little more practical like you got to kind of watch it sometimes. And you need to go out maybe a little bit a step ahead. You don't go out looking raggedy because you're already gonna be pre-judged."

Reception modes for Intersectional status messages. For these mothers, notions derived about what it means to be a black female came through verbal communication and modeling. Many of the mothers received direct, verbal communiqués about their racial-gender identity. Women like Mac and Taylor came to partially understand their black-female identity through the behavior of their mothers. Mac's mother filled-in for her deployed military father by doing the things that the man of the household traditionally did. Yet her mother was somehow able to make her father's masculine qualities (disciplinarian, protector) very real and palpable for Mac and her siblings, in his physical absence. Taylor's mother was a single-parent. Although not explicitly referenced in this excerpt, Taylor previously shared that she witnessed the difficulties of single parenthood through the trials and tribulations faced by her mother. Her mother may have verbally communicated to Taylor the importance of not being another unwed black mother, but it is also apparent that Taylor learned this message through careful observation and evaluation of her mother's actions and behavior, essentially modeling for Taylor what not to do.

Internalized racism. Examples of messages of internalized racism were not widely shared by the participants. Throughout the 6 focus groups and 1 phone interview, there were only a couple instances that could be coded as internalized racism. The Parent-CARES instrument did measure these types of messages. An example of an internalized racism message from the Parent-CARES would be the statement "Black people are just are not as smart as White people in Math and Science." Ruth did mention that she was "not so much taught to be proud of being black, but it was just, you're black, they're white, they do things differently." Perhaps by not deliberately receiving cultural pride reinforcement from her parents, Ruth began to experience being black as less than being white, especially when one takes into consideration the fact that her mother worked in the homes of "nice" white and Jewish families. That whites did "things differently" might have implied that blacks did things wrong, in comparison. This may partially explain the disdain that Ruth felt for white girls she encountered in school, disdain that led to the pulling of the hair of some of her white classmates. In possibly believing that she was inferior, Ruth may have acted out physically as a way to mask the shame and/or guilt she felt for her blackness and her mother's toiling away in the homes of "nice" white and Jewish families.

Sherry definitely received the message that blacks are less than whites, even though that may have not been her parents' intent. When asked what lessons she received about being a black female that she tries to pass on to her daughter, Sherry stated "I try to go the opposite. I try to go the opposite direction. I don't try to tell her that [referring to being black and female means that you have two strikes against you, so you have to work extra hard] some--'cause what I got from it is that they're better than you so you have to work extra harder. So I don't try to instill that in her at all." Sherry's comment exemplifies the tightrope that African American parents must carefully walk when racially socializing their children across the dominant,

minority-status, and Afrocentric domains: the message intended for transmission may not always be the one received by the child. A delicate balance has to be struck so that the racial reality does not comprise the child's self-concept.

Reception modes for internalized racism messages. For Sherry the message of internalized racism was received via verbal communication. For Ruth it was through verbal communication and perhaps modeling. As she listened to what was said, and not said, by her mother along with her mother's actions when in the company of her white/Jewish employers or non-descript whites, Ruth may have deduced that being black means that one is less than a white person—particularly when it was black women working for white families and never a white woman working in the homes of black families.

Summary

Mothers reported having received messages reflecting all six of the Parent-CARES subscales. Consequently, of the four broad racial socialization message types, mothers reported that they received messages reflecting all four (although the Parent-CARES instrument does not measure Egalitarian messages, these messages were received by mothers and duly discussed in this section). Additionally, it appears that mothers received specific messages referencing their racial-gender identity and what it means to be a black female. These types of messages were subsumed under the label Intersectional Status, a category within the "Other message types" section. Although Internalized Racism is a Parent-CARES subscale, it is not included in the four broad message types schema and was thusly included in the "Other message types" section. While there were numerous examples of Intersectional Status messages, there were very few reported examples of mothers receiving Internalized Racism messages.

Racial socialization messages transmitted by mothers to daughters.

Cultural socialization messages transmitted. Messages in this category are characterized by cultural legacy and cultural pride reinforcement. Examples from the Parent-CARES metric that reflect these themes are: "Knowing your African heritage is important for the survival of Black people" (*CL*); "You should be proud to be Black" (*CP*).

Cultural legacy. The importance of knowing one's heritage and ancestral roots was shared quite often by mothers participating in this study. Mothers deliberately and inadvertently transmitted messages regarding cultural legacy. One example of deliberate intent was viewing the Emancipation Proclamation. In the summer of 2011 the original Emancipation Proclamation, which is housed in the National Archives in Washington, D.C., traveled the nation, stopping for 36 hours in Dearborn, MI. Ruth mentioned, "we went to see the Emancipation Proclamation. I think I try to make it balanced. Cause they've seen the 'I Have a Dream' [referencing video footage of MLK Jr.'s August 28, 1963 speech at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C.]. Two pivotal artifacts marking two pivotal eras in American History are inextricably linked to the African American experience in this nation. It would appear that Ruth acknowledges the importance of these artifacts to her daughter's understanding of who she is as a black child in America, an identity rooted in a long legacy. Another example of deliberate intent is offered by Rita. She states, "I basically tell my girl the same things I was taught: You gotta know your heritage. It is key to grounding you in the world. A world which tries to tell you you're less than." Therefore Rita aims to deliver the same cultural legacy messages her parents imparted which "always stressed knowing your roots, because without roots you're nothin'. I know from whence I came and that's a very important part about who I am." This same ideology is reflected in her communiqués to her daughter. Mac also shares how she deliberately transmits cultural legacy messages when she states, "one, understand the struggles that we've gone

through as a race to get to the point of being able to have education, being able to vote, being able to do all these things. It's not so far removed that they shouldn't understand the struggle and how valuable that ground we gained is. . ." She continues this line of conversation by demonstrating how she connects historic black struggle to ushering in historic black accomplishment when she states that "in our house, well we've always had black images… I try and make my daughter politically involved. We went and answered phones for the last presidential race and it was only a couple days. It was the point that she got a chance to experience [calling voters on behalf of the Obama campaign]. And so I'm always doing something like that." The melding of struggle with triumph is quite an important lesson to be taught. Mac's statement is particularly salient as it refers to the election of America's first African American president—an enormously important milestone in the African American legacy—and her daughter's direct involvement in that historic moment. Lola S. demonstrates how culturally incompetent teachers can be when it comes to fully comprehending the African American experience and she intentionally uses this display of incompetence by making it a teachable moment.

> Yeah, my daughter had that project [ancestral history] too and I kind of did the same thing. I said—and here's the situation or maybe this is a chance to expose it maybe to more people….Right. Trace it back to the plantation and that's as far as we can most likely go…My grandmother's grandmother was part Native American. So we, again, another injustice done to another group of people that, again, we can't track or trace.

Lola S. realizes that the full ancestral story cannot be written for many African Americans as it becomes extremely difficult to locate the existence of documents tracing one's ties to the African continent or to the appropriate Indigenous nation. She sees this as a teachable moment for her daughter and as a way for her daughter to educate the teacher who assigned such a project without explicitly acknowledging the multifarious histories of all of her students. Another

example of mothers being intentional in transmitting messages of cultural legacy is Lashawn. Lashawn is purposeful in reinforcing her daughter's racial identity by linking her to people and places that represent a shared cultural heritage. Lashawn shows this when she shared "I go to take her down there [Detroit] so she can understand 'this is who you are'. You got to be around your people." Rooting her daughter in an African American experience that connects her to blacks in Detroit teaches her daughter that "this is who you are," and these are "your people," that her legacy is bound up in this particular place with individuals who look a particular way. Another mother demonstrates heritage and cultural legacy through exposure to films and television programming. Vicky said, "…or if I find a movie that really seems to speak to racial issues, especially if it's got a child in it dealing and overcoming with something I'll point that out and we'll watch that… Whenever I find a Cosby Show and I'll put it on and see if she wants to check that out. But she likes--she does like that." For Vicky legacy is not only bound up in real life and history, cultural legacy can also be shown through fictional characters and situations that are deemed to approximate an African American lived experience.

Messages of cultural legacy can also be transmitted inadvertently. Sherry best exemplifies this with a comment she shared.

> My daughter has come to me asking me, 'Are we African?' Because I have--I said African American before. She was like, 'We're African?' And I'm like, "Well our ancestors, that's where they came from, Africa. So that's why we prefer--refer us to African American"…Every now and then we'll probably go to an African American museum or we do watch a lot of African American movies or TV shows…She likes more--I won't say--she's more into the African American, even though we stay out in the suburbs and she's been out there since she's been two, she's more into African American music, TV shows… She likes *Everybody Hates Chris* even though it doesn't come on anymore. They record all the old episodes and *My Wife and Kids*. They love that.

Sherry did not intentionally set out to link black with an African legacy, however, her daughter perceived such a connection from things she had heard her mother state, causing Sherry to have

to clarify her daughter's understanding of the label African American. Although Sherry mentioned that "we'll probably go to an African American museum," it is still quite apparent that she has unintentionally transmitted cultural legacy messages by the types of movies, television shows, and music she has exposed her daughter to, especially since the child has lived in suburbia since the age of two. Sherry and her husband's consumption of media has largely reflected an African American orientation, a point of reference which has helped to racially socialize and influence the development of their daughter's racial identity.

Transmission modes for cultural legacy messages. Mothers transmit cultural legacy messages using three (verbal communication, exposure, and modeling) of the four modalities. For transmitting these types of messages, exposure and modeling modes were used quite frequently. As she spoke about her experiences with informing her daughters, and other children, about their African American legacy, it was clear that Mac used these two modes in tandem.

> And the only way we're gonna continue gaining ground is by being either educated academically or through some sort of skilled trade and then teaching them about social responsibility, being involved in the community, just bringing all of that back because we don't have that. So it doesn't matter what kind of school you get in or anything else if people don't have core values in terms of building our communities…a movie that I saw last year and it was called *Soundtrack for Revolution* and it went through the entire Civil Rights Movement and it kind of went through every stage of it. And at almost 50 years old I walked out of there and I just had an *aha moment*. I thought, 'Wow. Look at what we did to move this nation forward'…And then when our kids start to see the value that we really bring to the table as a race, they start to value themselves more. So teaching about those things and keeping those things forefront and the black art in our homes and the stories and all of those things, it's just all part of that whole package.

According to Mac, understanding one's legacy promotes social responsibility and community building, it also makes clear the contributions blacks have made to this nation and the world. A realization that Mac believes is made possible when mothers and others teach children their cultural history, decorate their lives with sights and sounds that are culturally relevant, and

actively work to connect children to their past, present, and future. Lola S. is the type of mother that Mac believes more black children need. Lola fosters a cultural sensibility in her daughter by being engaged in the various things Mac opined.

> Everywhere I went, she went…I worked out of African American history. I worked in a lot of different--any program--a lot of programs that we did throughout the year. So she [her daughter] participated in it. She had parts in them. She had to memorize stuff for plays…She was--so she's already very aware in terms of heritage, ethnicity, African American history. Probably knows more than most people do. I usually look at her and go, "How'd you know that?" She goes, "Because of my mom."

In this way Lola S. did a considerable amount of exposing and modeling as she transmitted messages to her daughter about cultural legacy. Again, Lola S. also addresses cultural legacy by demonstrating that some individuals—teachers included—can lack a holistic understanding of the black experience in this nation. She shared how she addressed a lack of cultural competence on the part of her daughter's teacher when it came to the infamous family history projects.

> And so I try to tell her, use it as exposure so let's get the word out there that yes, this is a great project [ancestral history] that we're doing, but guess what? There's some people who gonna have to stop at this particular point until we can maybe break into some archives or find something that someone wrote down at some particular point in time that said that yes, this particular person was or we have a name. Find a name.

Time and time again mothers spoke about these family history projects that assumed their children could trace their genealogies beyond three or four generations, an assumption that mothers felt smacked of cultural incompetence on the parts of the teachers. Of course there are native born African Americans who can trace their lineages to early 17th century America and others still who can link their families to various African nations, however, for the majority of native born blacks in America this knowledge does not exist. When teachers assign such projects without even acknowledging this possibility or making allowances for such occurrences, parents become upset or perplexed and children can feel disappointed and disconnected from their peers. For mothers such as Lola S., inoculating their children means educating teachers and

their children's classmates, a burden these mothers and their daughters should not have to constantly bear.

Like other mothers, Tiffany used a mixture of modalities to transmit cultural legacy messages. She spoke about the importance of verbal communication when she stated, "But I do instill it from the roots though. I spend a lot of time talking about roots and her history and slavery and ancestors and I do spend a lot of time for them knowing where we came from." Tiffany also so uses exposure and modeling techniques especially when it came to transmitting messages about how her daughter is taught to cope with racial antagonism resulting from a teacher's lack of understanding the African American legacy.

Cultural pride reinforcement. The tenor of cultural pride reinforcement messages consisted of being proud of self, proud of other blacks, and acknowledging and understanding the debt owed to blacks who have blazed a path. Monique and Kim S. stressed that their daughters need to proud of who they are.

Monique stated explicitly that she tells her daughter, "Be proud of your heritage, be proud of who you are." Kim S. acknowledges the difficulty her daughter may have in developing a strong sense of self-pride—that is rooted in racial pride—within the context of a predominantly white school setting and an idealized standard of beauty that does not value her daughter's physical attributes. She states, "You definitely have to instill and work with a sense of self that is really, really difficult."

Auntie, Mac, Lola S., and Christina transmit cultural pride reinforcement messages vicariously. For Auntie, pride in the accomplishments of one's family is an important message for children to receive.

> Because so many of our young are going off to college but they're not getting the degree. And so I want her to know, don't get it twisted. This is the end result…I mean, my

> uncle, who actually was a principal in DPS [Detroit Public Schools] and then his wife also, they sent me [in preparation for her niece's high school graduation party] seven degrees among three of them…And my cousin, she had two and between my husband and I, we have four. And it was just--them degrees added up so quick…Don't--you can't go nowhere and say, "Oh, I'm the first generation [college student] that can't be your story.

Pride in one's ancestral family is another important message. Mac reflects on how amazing and wonderful it will be for her daughter who's traveling to Africa to see African people, black complexioned people as the majority, functioning as the heads of state, captains of industry, and wielding power. Mac tells her daughter, "Imagine, _____, you go over there. You're gonna be in a country where everybody's black. Everybody, the doctors, the lawyers, the Indian chiefs, the Indians, everybody. You're no longer a minority. You're in a place that's being run by us and this is a big, huge city." So I think it's gonna be a good thing for her." Lola S. also reinforces cultural pride messages by pointing to the biographies of accomplished African Americans. So much so that "whenever she's [her daughter] doing a research project, on her own, she picks usually an African American subject to do." The pride that her daughter has for her race is on display whenever she has the opportunity learn more about African Americans by incorporating this knowledge into her school projects. Christina uses fictional characters as a way to transmit messages reinforcing cultural pride. In this instance it is Disney's *The Princess and the Frog* movie (featuring Disney's first black princess, Tiana) that provides Christina the opportunity to instill pride in her daughter. Christina stated, "But I think for me, I kind of stuff it at her a little bit, for instance, when *the Princess and the Frog* was coming out, I said, 'Oh, a black princess.' Okay, we gotta go…But [I] just wanted her to be proud at the same time. And I'm like making a big deal of it." *The Princess and the Frog* was released by Disney in December of 2009. It was the first time that Disney, in its 71 years of cartoon history, showcased a black princess after having created films with an Arabian princess [Jasmine in

1992's *Aladdin*] and Native American and Chinese heroines [1995's *Pocahontas* and 1998's *Mulan*] (Barnes, 2009). For many African American parents Princess Tiana was a welcome addition to the Disney princess repertoire and merchandising line; for others much of Tiana's creation and storyline was steeped in controversy and the "princess" construct itself presented its own set of problems.

Understanding the debt that is owed to blacks who blazed trails and paved the way so that those coming behind them would have an easier path is a refrain that mothers believe to be important as they work to reinforce cultural pride in their daughters. Rita reflects this aspect of the cultural pride message when she states, "Black people have had baptism through fire." We have been tested & tried but we are still here, you are standing on the shoulders of others and you owe a debt…Your debt includes doing the best you can in school, carrying yourself with dignity. That's what we expect." This is a message that she has passed on to her daughter. Toni shares how she uses indebtedness as a way to encourage her daughter to do right by herself, by her family, and by her community. She stated, "Well, because her ancestors have come a long way. We didn't get this far [as a race] by shucking & jiving we got this far by being dignified and persevering. And when she's slacking off sometimes I have to give her that little nudge, that remembrance of those who have come before and the way they paved." Essentially, for Toni's daughter that "nudge" serves as a reminder that people have sacrificed so that she might enjoy the rights and privileges that are before her, it further signifies that she must honor her ancestors by always being the best person that she can be.

Transmission modes for cultural pride reinforcement messages. Mothers transmit cultural pride messages mostly through utilization of exposure and modeling modes. For Monique and Auntie it's all about modeling. Monique exhibits this when she states that part of

being proud of who you are comes from seeing yourself and your race reflected in consumables: "We always buy African American literature…She loves African American literature & poetry." Paris agrees "And like you said, I buy books, African American books. And if a television or movie or a show comes on, like *The Wiz* (the 1978 Berry Gordy produced, all-black adaptation of the Wizard of Oz, starring Diana Ross, Michael Jackson, and Nipsey Russell) was on TV. I don't know if you've seen *The Wiz*. I wanted her to watch it. I ended up buying the DVD. I wanted her to see *The Wiz*." Auntie demonstrates how important it is for her children to see the academic accomplishments of relatives. Showcasing the various academic degrees is but one way to instill pride: "We're getting ready for [my niece's] open house and what I ask is for everybody in my family to send me their degrees… And all the little ones who will be there celebrating her will also see, wow. Yes!" To encourage cultural pride Christina opted for exposure, "When *The Princess and the Frog* was coming out, I said, 'Oh, a black princess. Okay, we gotta go.'"

To continue to encourage cultural pride, even in the face of taunts by fellow black classmates, Lola S. reminds her daughter to be steadfast and stay true to herself and her intellectual curiosity when she shared, "So one of the other kids told her, 'You're gonna have--you always doing something African American. You're always doing something with black history.' And I told her, I said, 'Hey. You can do whatever you want to. It's your choice. When they say it's your choice, you do whatever you want to do.'"

Preparation for bias messages transmitted. Messages in this category are characterized by racial and religious coping with antagonism and alertness to racism. Examples from the Parent-CARES metric that reflect these themes are statements such as: "You should ignore people that make racist comments" (*CA-Racial)*; "Train up a child in the way he should go, and

he will not turn away from it" (*CA-Religious*); and "You have to work twice as hard as whites in order to get ahead in this world" (*AR*).

Racial & religious coping with antagonism. Mothers are equipping their daughters to survive a society that may not treat them fairly simply because of the hue of their skin. Mothers use religious teachings as a way to help daughters cope with antagonism. Additionally, in order to prepare their daughters to cope with racial antagonism, mothers point to successful African Americans as role models, seek race- and culture-specific activities and organizations for connecting their daughters to other blacks, instill the notion that their daughters are just as good or even better than their non-black counterparts, and by instructing daughters how to exercise their own agency.

Ruth, Auntie, and Toni teach their daughters to have faith in God and to rely upon religious doctrine to help them navigate hostile environments. Ruth wants her daughters to see everyone as an image of God and therefore deserving of love and acceptance. Ruth states that, "Over the years as I've grown and gotten a better understanding of things, and becoming a Christian, I began to see people as people, all created by God…I teach [her] to accept people for being people…" Although Ruth passes on a humanistic view, bound in religious doctrine, she does not naively believe that everyone is as loving and Christ-like. She makes this clear when she concludes her statement with "…but we do discuss racial issues, we do discuss slavery, they know that all those things happened, they know all of that. They're aware that we are black, they are white." Ruth's message clearly reflects the biblical teachings of Genesis 1:27 (*So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them*) and Matthew 22:39 (*And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself)* (King James Version). Toni tells her daughter, "God is only going to give you as much

as you can bear. Now, she doesn't really understand that, but what I do tell her is 'get on your knees and pray about it.' You have to be prayerful, especially these days. She understands turning to God." Toni's messages of God not giving one more than they can bear and turning to God in times of crises reflect the biblical sentiments found in Matthew 11:28-30 (King James Version):

> 28 Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.
> 29 Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls.
> 30 For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light.

Toni believes that if her daughter is experiencing some hardship all she need do is turn over this mental or emotional burden to the Lord, through prayer: That if she surrenders to God whatever is weighing on her, that burden will be lifted and she will find peace and serenity in the word of God. As Auntie recounted the difficulties her daughter had with the young white girls in her subdivision, she shared "I think she's just kind of waiting on the Lord. And I tell her, 'You know, good things come and it's coming. Don't worry about it.'" Auntie professes the belief taught in Lamentations 3:25-33 (King James Version) when it says:

> 25The LORD is good unto them that wait for him, to the soul that seeketh him.
> 26It is good that a man should both hope and quietly wait for the salvation of the LORD.
> 27It is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth.
> 28He sitteth alone and keepeth silence, because he hath borne it upon him.
> 29He putteth his mouth in the dust; if so be there may be hope.
> 30He giveth his cheek to him that smiteth him: he is filled full with reproach.
> 31For the Lord will not cast off for ever:
> 32But though he cause grief, yet will he have compassion according to the multitude of his mercies.
> 33For he doth not afflict willingly nor grieve the children of men.

Auntie is sure that her daughter's suffering will be rewarded, that she will not suffer in vain.

Mothers such as Vicky realize the importance of identifying and connecting with other blacks as a way for their daughters to cope with racial animosity. Vicky looks to her church as a

place for fortifying her daughter. She shared, "We found a new church that we like and she's made a ton of friends there. And so--which I'm really happy about. There's more African American children there…And so she's made a lot more friends through church and then she's just kind of--she kind of comes out of her shell and opens up." Lola L. looks to church and other places with a majority black membership.

> I take my children out of the community because they need to see them [others who look like them]. They need to see them doing good things. And in my community they don't see that. It's all the little Caucasian girls that are doing the best dance and doing the best swirl. And so I want them to see the children that look like them, are just as great. And I'm not seeing that in my home base community…[therefore she seeks out] Church first. Church and my daughter was here at [the local university] for the _____ program [sponsored by the university's college of education, it is designed to increase the competence and confidence of middle school girls in the areas of mathematics, technology, scientific thinking, and communication by engaging them in experiences that promote interest in and awareness of Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics related careers] with Dr. ____ from January and that's another seventh grade program…And I have--my daughter's in--my oldest girl is in [a non-profit organization that offers a hands-on introduction to science, technology, engineering, mathematics and medicine for students between the ages of 5 and 18 and are in grades K-12 in tri-county public, private, and charter schools], the engineering program. And she says, 'I don't want to be an engineer.' And--you're gonna get the exposure. My daughter and I just had a confrontation, a little small one, just a little agreeing to disagree. She wanted to go to the church for the--our church has a camp that they go to every year and the camp is for five days. And she wanted to go to that camp and she's been going for like three years. So my oldest girl said, 'I want to go to that camp. I don't want to go to that engineering program because I don't want to be an engineer, mommy. Remember, I want to be an actress.' Yeah, okay. You can be that actress but you're gonna have to have something else to fall back on. So I told her, 'You've been there. You've done that. You've done that. Let's try something new.' I was so happy the first day she came out of the [engineering] program. She says, 'Mommy, I love it. My computer battery is broke and we're getting ready to repair that.'…and my younger girl is in [a local, non-profit multicultural arts organization whose mission is to develop young theater artists through theatrical and musical training] and that gives the girls so much…My little one has gone from not saying a whole lot to just out in the open. Let me just tell you what they did. She just really, really--I just see so much will and determination in her since she's been in that [fine and performing arts program]. It's a ____ youth theater. They do drama, dance, and singing and then they do performing…I think they just went to the White House or something recently too.

Lola L. researches and takes advantage of what's being offered in the metropolitan area. The three programs she has her daughters involved with are very popular in the area and these programs are attended by a majority African American population as they are located directly within the city. Not only is Lola L. providing enriching academic and technical experiences for her daughters, she is also introducing her girls to a multitude of potential role models—successful professionals at the top of their fields—who share the same race and gender as her girls. Lashawn also attests to the importance of connecting her child to African Americans outside of her predominantly white suburban community.

> Now [my daughter], she'll never feel like--she'll never be able to say, 'Well, I'm--I'm white like them.' You know what I'm saying? And then some kids how they'll get lost and feeling like--or wanting to be more white than they are black? I didn't want her to experience that. It's like, you are an African American child. And you're not beneath these other kids. You're smarter than they are. But you're African American and you need to be around more African Americans so that you can feel good about yourself and who you are. We've made lots of contributions to this country. You need to know that.

Lashawn is quite aware of the difficulty her daughter may face in developing a positive racial identity in a predominantly white community. She is proactively attempting to help her daughter ground her identity as a black child, in order for her daughter to feel good about herself in the face of possible racial strife. Valerie shares Lashawn's fears about the effects a confused racial identity can have on young black children raised in a predominantly white environment.

> I know so many black parents right now that are taking their kids out of [her Oakland County public district] schools because their kids don't--particularly the males, they don't fit in with the black kids and they don't fit in with the white kids. And partly because they lived in that community their whole lives and they didn't reach out and kind of stay connected with other people…So they have no sense of community whatsoever. I don't even know if they know what that means. I mean, and you're talking about a day now where kids don't go in the street and play with other kids and they don't have that network from the neighborhood. Our kids are traveling and they're in all these programs because we want them to be so educated. And it's like we've almost intentionally set up this system. Yeah, we've--I don't know if you guys have read the Willie Lynch letter--that talks about how to break down a community. We've created, to me, our own little

> Willie Lynch system with all the things that we've done with our kids. And somehow we got to get back on track 'cause we're now tearing down what was left.

Valerie is clearly concerned about the paradox that these parents and their children find themselves in: moving to predominantly white communities to provide their children a good public education, yet their emotional and psychic selves may become damaged in the process. A comment Auntie shared reflects this sentiment when she stated, "But what I learned through our African American network, which has really helped me, is that integration does not mean equal education and it still means segregation. And so I stuck them into this environment to--for a better education, but I didn't think of the tradeoff from that." In alluding to the Willie Lynch letter—based upon a speech purportedly given in 1712 in Jamestown, VA by a slave owner from the West Indies who outlines how to control negro slaves for 300 years, but is most likely a 1990s concoction (Retrieved from http://manuampim.com/lynch_hoax1.html and http://web.archive.org/web/20070814182601/http://www.jelanicobb.com/portfolio/willie_lynch_is_dead.html)—Valerie is concerned that these negative outcomes may be the price children pay for the hopes and dreams of their parents, it is an undoing that these black parents may believe they have afflicted upon their own black children. Therefore, she sees building a sense of community for these black children as vital to their emotional, psychological, and social well-being. It is through this community building that children will thrive and soar.

Other mothers prescribe a healthy dose of egalitarian indoctrination as a way to combat racial animus. Paris wants her daughter to grow up understanding that she is just as good as her non-black counterparts. She sees herself and fellow African American parents as being "…in a position now as African Americans where we probably feel that we have more control and we can do things as opposed to our parents where they were just kind of coming out of that where--

just different history of where they came from, whereas we [her generation] grew up and we didn't have those white bathroom, black bathroom. So you kind of grow up like, 'I'm just as good.' I don't have that baggage." This is the sentiment that she shares with her daughter, that she is equal to anyone and that she can match wits with whoever she chooses regardless of race. Renee agrees with Paris's assessment. She states, "But where they go to school, it's predominantly--I'm gonna say 99 percent [white]. I haven't seen any African Americans in that--in the city where they go to school…I feel that me and my children, we have just as much right to be there as they do." Demonstrating that she and her children have a right to live in their chosen community and go to school in their chosen community is how she prepares her daughter to deal with any hostility that she may face. Renee's daughter will not be made to feel as an interloper or someone who is undeserving of a quality education or good quality of life. Although Lola S.'s daughter may be only one of a few in her class, she is being taught to hold her head high and always do her best no matter the circumstance: "And I think my daughter's kind of in a similar situation although she probably doesn't have as many African Americans in class as I did, whereby she's still in an extreme minority of African Americans in her class and still having to, you know, again as you were saying, make sure that she is doing her best, putting forth her best effort…"

Mac and Tiffany want their daughters to speak up for themselves and act on their own behalf. "I think our kids need to know how to think and need to know how to process and not be hoodwinked and bamboozled by everything they see on the, you know, nightly news and all of that, 'cause we talk about all that," Mac stated. She does not want her daughters succumbing to the media portrayals of African Americans that are exaggerated and perpetuate prejudice. Mac instructs her daughters to be critical consumers of news, entertainment, and information

especially when it comes to themes of race and gender. Being rational and discerning will help Mac's daughters offer reasoned arguments in the face of racial antagonism and process unfolding events with a balance of logic and sentiment. Tiffany shares Mac's feeling that it is important to be thoughtful when processing and reacting to situations that may be antagonistic. When faced with one such situation, Tiffany shared with the focus group participants how she teaches her daughters to cope.

> My daughter, they just had--they have a [city in Oakland County] Historical Museum. At the end of their year they have a--they go to the museum and they're supposed to role play students who were in the classroom at that time and dress in that kind of attire. So I talked to the teacher. I said, 'That's great and I'm down with that but at the same time I want you to know'--I just want you to know I'm gonna use this as a teachable moment for my culture 'cause in 1800s my daughter would not have been in school in [this predominantly white community]. So we're gonna talk about that and when she dresses she's not gonna come in a *Little House on the Prairie* look 'cause she's gonna come dressed how African American kids would have been dressed in 1800 in Michigan. So she and I did a research and we looked it up and we got pictures. And she decided her outfit and she--we dressed her like that. And so she--and her teacher was like, 'Okay. I love it.' And then she said, 'If your daughter's okay with it can she use her history as a teachable moment for the class?' And so my daughter explained her outfit and explained why she wasn't dressed in the normal *Little House on the Prairie* look or whatever. And she said the class turned into a big diversity-culture-discussion and everything. And I was like that was great! Now at first my husband's like well not just--'cause he likes to--just send her and don't mess. I was like, no. I don't ever make it an issue. And I never become-- I'm not controversial. I'm never going to be--I'm not gonna throw it in your face and tell you, you got to do this. I'm telling you this is what I'm doing 'cause one thing my parents always taught me, you can only control you. You cannot control anybody else. You cannot spend your energy trying to worry about--So you just worry about what you're gonna do. So that was it. So I always work with the teachers. And _____'s a black teacher so I'm good. That's been fine this year. We talk about black stuff, the racism, the other parents. So that was my whole different connection finally having a black teacher for both of my kids.

Tiffany felt it was important to empower her daughter to deal with a bit of cultural incompetence on the part of her teacher. Although Michigan was admitted into the Union as a free state in 1837, surely the lives of the majority of fugitive slaves and free blacks that inhabited the state did not mirror that of the Ingalls family. Tiffany's daughter took action, alongside her mother, and

presented a more accurate portrayal of history to her classmates, one which fostered learning and growing for everyone involved.

Transmission modes for racial & religious coping with antagonism messages. Much of what has been done by mothers to transmit racial and religious coping with antagonism messages has been done using various combinations of verbal communication, modeling, and exposure. Ruth, Auntie, and Toni's religious coping messages were most likely transmitted using verbal communication. Paris expounded upon how she talks about equality within the context of racialized environments when she shared, "We've had conversations about race, me and my daughter. But she hasn't really had any issues. I think it's just more of just as a mom, feeling you just needing to just start instilling--she's very aware of different races and seeing people differently. And so we just kind of talk about that." Lola S. and Renee also appear to primarily deliver their messages via verbal communication, but a case could be made for modeling as well. The other mothers clearly use a varied combination of the three modes with a preference for exposure and modeling, especially when it comes to looking to other blacks as role models and as members of a support network for their children. Lashawn demonstrates this point as she shared what she does to connect her daughter to other black folks.

> She has--she does things with the African Americans at church…so what I'll do is I pick up some of the other kids that needed a ride just so that they could get to know each other too. . .I'm a member of [large church in the city]. And so I don't leave her out. We don't do everything out in the suburbs… Yes, because our pastor is really heavy on education. And you have a lot of successful African Americans there at the church and she needs to see that.

In this way Lashawn, and the other mothers, are exposing their daughters to successful African Americans who can mentor, counsel, and support these young girls while modeling for their daughters the importance of being rooted in one's culture and associating with people who look like them.

Alertness to racism. Living in a socially stratified society as a racial minority means that one will inevitably face racism. As a way to alert daughters to this reality, mothers offered numerous examples of the type of alertness to racism messages they pass along. Monique offered one of the most profound examples of how mothers can inadvertently alert their children to the existence of racism.

> We recently took a trip to Chicago to the American Girl store and of course she wanted to go to get the black doll. And of course the black doll was a slave! And then she was just sitting there like 'Ok, I can't believe this!' Then she went to look at the other minorities. There was an American Indian and she said, 'Why does she have to fight for a reservation? Why is her home called that? Why does the black girl have to use an out-house and Kitt Kittridge have a tree house?' So, I'm like wow! This little girl is smarter than I thought she was. So I had to sit and explain to her about the books before I let her buy the book. At this point she just wanted the book, she didn't want the doll. One of the books was named *Meet Addy*. And this book really did more than I thought it would. It had a family tree and the first person it had was the master. And then it had slave language. And she was saying to me 'Well, why are they talking this way? This isn't how you speak. Why are the white people speaking this way and the black people speaking a different way?' And it was really difficult. I started crying in the store. And people were looking like 'What is wrong with this woman?' And I just couldn't believe that my daughter was thinking about this! And there was a line in the book where it said 'leech,' and I didn't think 'Oh, that they are equating African Americans with leeches,' but they were. So I explained to her what a leech was and she like immediately started crying. And then I read the sentence and 'Oh my God, they're saying black people are leeches,' and I just told her what a leech was.

A seemingly innocuous trip to the doll store morphs into a crash-course in American racial hegemony. For people who may argue "oh, it's just a cartoon/a movie/a doll" or "black people are overly sensitive to race" or "black people are always playing the race card," Monique and her daughter might beg to differ. Certain depictions and characterizations of blacks in American and global literatures and media can negatively impact children and their identity. Mothers not only feel that they must protect their children from an onslaught of racist imagery, but they must arm them to be able to withstand such attacks. Sometimes blacks are simply playing the card that has been dealt. Lola S. acknowledges that the news can be toxic to a young black child's identity

when she stated, "My child can point out to me on the news, 'Mom, why is it that every time an African American's on the news, it's negative?' But then when someone of some different race does something we either don't see them or it's not reported as much or it's positive. So that's where I begin to start having to have conversations, deal with things like that." How does one develop a positive sense of self when virtually everywhere she looks she is inundated with examples of inferiority, and/or lack of intellect, industriousness, and initiative?

A few mothers shared that their children were alerted to racism by the actions of their neighbors and classmates. Kim S., Christina, and Lashawn each had to address their daughters being discriminated against or ostracized because of her race.

> Kim S.: When we had the incident of "I can't play with black children" the principal did ask to come in and she wanted to have a group with them and speak to them and we were not comfortable. My husband and I were not comfortable. I spoke to my daughter and I said some people are ignorant and that's some people's way of how to deal and cope with things. *They don't know you they're just making a rash and outward assessment that happens in this world and it's because of their ignorance that they are that way and that is no reflection of you* that is nothing that you have to worry about. If that little girl ever mistreats you, you let me know.
>
> Christina: It wasn't really an incident to her because she didn't know any better, but one of her birthday parties, she asked could she invite a couple of kids from school…And so she said this particular little girl couldn't come to her party. And so I was like, "Oh, okay." And she said, "I just found out why." I said, "Why?" And she said, *"Well, her mother doesn't like black people."* So that, to me, I was just like, "Oh, God, here we go." And this was second grade.
>
> Lashawn: In preschool it wasn't necessarily the neighborhood but in preschool I put her one year in Montessori…She was only going to be there the one year for preschool and then start kindergarten. But my little girl woke up on a Sunday morning and says, *"I wish I wasn't black."* She said the kids don't want to play with me. Now she's four [at the time].

Each of these mothers' daughters faced prejudice and discrimination rooted in racism. Although Christina may believe that her daughter did not register it, that it was not "really an incident to her because she didn't know any better," she was seven or eight at the time and it is quite

possible that this event did make an impression upon her. Mac is preparing her daughter for a much more subtle occurrence. What does one do when the friendship circle no longer looks like a United Colors of Benetton ad? Mac has an answer for that.

> Our kids will probably be more open, but one thing I've noticed is that kids will have friends of other ethnic groups and even through junior high or middle school. But when they go to high school, and I told my daughter, 'Don't expect Haley, who's been your best bud since kindergarten to be your best bud anymore.' And that kind of starts in middle school where they start liking different kind of music and one goes for this look and the other goes for this look and this club and this club. So their interests obviously start separating as they both start to grow. But I said, 'It's gonna continue to widen even more and it doesn't mean that they're not your friend. It just means that people tend to assimilate towards people who are like themselves.'

Tiffany, Valerie, and Lola S. alert their daughters to the reality of racism by telling them that they will have to work twice as hard to be perceived just as good as their counterparts and that they must always stay the straight, narrow path no matter what is whirling around them. These mothers send the message but with very subtle racial overtones.

> Tiffany: You have to be able to be able to stand above and beyond the average person because you will be overlooked by a lot because you're black unfortunately. But right now I just instill the work ethic. You have to work twice as hard but the reason behind--they don't know any cultural reason why.

> Valerie: I think I probably duplicate that message to the extreme. I think I might go overboard at times. I have--we--my expectations and my standards for them are so high that sometimes people say, "Gosh, they're only five and eight." But I want them to accelerate in everything that they do. You know, you're not going to do whatever the standard is or the norm. I want you to go above and beyond that… And maybe if you do that then it won't be as hard for you as it was for me, is my thinking.

> Lola S.: Tell her all the time, "You follow all the rules all the time like you're supposed to. Don't worry about what someone else does because you might get in trouble where someone else might not. May not be fair." But I always tell her, "If you're right you're right. And if you're wrong, you're wrong. I can't defend you if you done--if you broke one of the rules and you're wrong even though someone else got away with it."

Other mothers offer a variety of alertness to racism messages. Mac believes that teachers who actively speak in the native language of some students—outside of an English as a Second

Language (ESL) class—at the expense of other students is a blatant form of racism. She stated, "Now the Chaldean teachers will speak to the kids in Chaldean in front of the whole class. I think that's unacceptable. Unacceptable but it happens all the time. So to me, that in itself is, to me kind of racist, you know?" Mac went on to talk about how white teachers treat black children when she shared, "And those teachers absolutely treat our children different. And so I try not to get--because I would really get into a bat--it would just be an ugly thing, you know, get into a battle of wills with these teachers all the time." Surely Mac's daughters have picked up on her attitudes regarding what is defined as racist and what is not.

Transmission modes for alertness to racism messages. Verbal communication, modeling and exposure were the primary modes of transmission for alertness to racism messages. Lola S. and Christina each mentioned talking with their daughters as a way to alert them to racism. In particular Lola S. referred to "so that's where I begin to start having to have conversations, deal with things like that" when speaking about the negative media portrayals that her daughter highlighted. One would also assume that Lola S. had conversations with her daughter about how she can best thwart racist suppositions by following "all the rules all time." When Christina's daughter told her that the little girl she invited to her party could not attend because her mother did not like black people, she addressed this by saying, "What do you mean?' And how does this child even know this is--the fact that the mother even said this to her daughter and so I really didn't get into it but I just kind of let her know that everyone isn't always gonna like you and people--*some people are narrow minded and don't like people based on the color of their skin*. But you have to not worry about that and just continue to be you. And so she was like, "Okay," and kind of blew it off. And I'm just like, 'Who is this mother?'" Although Christina initially

believed this incident "didn't register" for her daughter, it is apparent from the manner in which she responded the her daughter may have catalogued it and stored it away.

Lashawn not only talked about what to do but also modeled for her daughter what to do when someone is treating you poorly simply because of your race. Although Lashawn's daughter was four at the time, Lashawn felt that it was important to make her presence felt and her disgust for what transpired in her daughter's classroom known. When Lashawn's daughter woke up stating she did not want to be black, she acted swiftly and decisively.

> So of course I went completely off and I called--I nipped it in the bud right away. I called the school Monday and I got it straightened out. And it--what it was it was a student teacher, very heavy set young white girl, she had them--she was causing it. One of the--I took a day off. I just went to the school unexpected and stood outside the classroom. She had them in a circle reading a book and she was asking them questions. My daughter had her hand up the entire time and she never once called on her. And what she was doing was getting the kids to leave her alone, to not socialize with her…So I called the director the next day and told her, I says, "This is a church? A school within a church and I have--and she's only four and already I have to have this conversation with her about race?" You know? The next day the kids were playing with her. There was no problem after that. So she straightened that out. But one thing about it is when our kids are out in neighborhoods like that in that area where they're the only black, you have to step up and help your child because you don't want them to be emotionally damaged from stuff like that. So you got to step up to the plate and do what you have to do some of the time.

For Valerie and Mac it was also about modeling as the means for transmitting alertness to racism messages. Valerie shared how she demonstrates to her daughter that due to racism she has to rise above and beyond when Valerie stated, "So if homework is only Monday through Wednesday or Monday through Thursday, like you're still gonna do something on Friday or you're still gonna have some other kind of enrichment. And it's just always kind of pushing. So I think for me maybe I kind of take it to the extreme a bit." Mac wants her daughter to speak up for herself if she is being mistreated, but to be clear and honest about what occurred. She shared, "So I'm really trying to teach my daughter how to deal with those issues herself. If you feel the

teacher's being unfair--now if she said something out of line, I'm absolutely going to address it and you better be clear about what you're saying because you're gonna be in a room and somebody's gonna be accountable for what's been said. So either it's you or her, but be clear about me going in to defend you."

Promotion of mistrust messages transmitted. Promotion of mistrust refers to messages that caution daughters about the pitfalls in trusting people of a different race (coping with interracial relationships). Messages of this domain suggest that whites are untrustworthy as well as are blacks who are overly friendly towards whites. Messages of this type contain admonishments such as "You have to watch what you say in front of White people" or "You can't trust Black people who act too friendly with White people."

Interracial coping. When it comes to warning daughters about the potential problems that can arise from interracial friendships, many mothers were very careful in how they presented these messages. Rita recalled receiving a very stern and blatant message from her parents regarding white people and how they were not to be trusted. Although her parents did not mince words, Rita feels that she should not send as overt a message as the one she received: "I don't tell it like I was told. She's too young. But I do couch it in terms of 'not everyone is going to be fair, not everyone is raised like you.' Some people may treat you badly simply because your skin is different from theirs…and your pride in who you are, but you just keep being proud and doing the right thing for yourself and for others." Rita does not suggest to her daughter that a particular, recognizable group of people are to be mistrusted, but that some people may mistreat her only because her skin color is different. Hence, her daughter is not being taught to distrust white people but to understand that difficulties may arise between her and people not phenotypically-like her." Tiffany has also had to prepare her daughter for biased treatment. In

doing so she too has not talked about the nature of black-white relationships, instead she has relied upon a narrative of fairness. In talking about her and her daughter's experiences with the Caucasian neighbors, Tiffany shared how there is no reciprocity when it comes to birthday invitations: she has extended several invitations that were accepted by the neighbor, however, not one invitation has been extended to Tiffany's daughter by this same neighbor.

> But talking about the neighbors in the community, we have a neighbor who was--who's two months younger than my daughter and they were born--I mean, all the first birthday parties I invited her over. The mom came. They--they're now eight. She's never been to her house. She's never invited her. My daughter has literally gone to the mailbox and looked to see is the invitation there 'cause she can see all the kids right across the street having the party. She's like--She's like, 'She came to mine.' I was like--and finally I think it was like last year I told her, it was like, 'You want to invite her that's your choice. I'm not gonna tell you you can't because that's what you want to do. I'm not gonna tell you you can't invite your neighbor 'cause that's--but you do need to think about the fact that just 'cause--I hope you're not doing it 'cause you think one day she's going to invite you back 'cause it's probably not gonna happen.'

Kim D. has experienced a similar situation and is trying to navigate it while protecting her daughter's emotions.

> But the hard part is when now this is the group that involves your daughter, you know, and your little girl. And it's hard to tell her like so and so who lives right across the street has never been over for a play date… I don't know, but in terms of what we were saying before about the neighbors, I think I guess that's when I started to suspect that one neighbor…But then anyway she had a birthday party for her [daughter]--that was a shocker that she didn't invite me…And so then I kind of tried to absorb that rejection because when I saw balloons on their mailbox and they had--yeah, they had some sort of bounce house there. I made sure my daughter wasn't in the backyard so she could see it…So yeah, this party issue is kind of getting to me. So is the play date issue at the school where her best friend, we had them over twice and her father is usually the one who takes care of them and came over. And we--he had said, 'Oh, yeah, we'll have you over.' And so my daughter kept talking about it. And then that's when I kind of have to change the subject 'cause I don't want to actually tell her they might not really. They haven't actually invited us and then we invited them a third time and they said they were too busy…So then--and in fact for her party last week I invited quite a few people from her class but I didn't let her know who was coming and who wasn't coming. And it was sort of just like, 'Yes, your friends will be coming.' And then it was when we got there and we said, 'Oh, look, it's Justin. It's this.' And I didn't mention any names of other people who [she had invited from her daughter's school, but did not show up].

Tiffany and Kim D. are transmitting messages about how their daughters should deal with interracial relationships, for both of these mothers fair treatment and reciprocity receive the greatest emphasis. Neither of these mothers is pointing to these episodes as prime examples of why non-black people (white people in particular) cannot be trusted.

Lashawn also has had to talk to her daughter about the treatment she experienced from their neighbors. Lashawn believed that the maltreatment her daughter experienced from the white neighbors and their children had to do with her daughter's advanced development.

> Like when ____ was a baby--I think this was--we all moved into the sub about the same time so we were invited to all the birthday parties. But she was the first one to get on that bicycle and ride without training wheels, the first to start reading. When she was able to start talking and reading, then the kids didn't--some of the kids didn't want to play with her…They can send all the invitations they want but you not going to their house for any more parties. That was that because it was a really funny thing how they began to act. And it was just because she was African American and because I'm her mother and he's her father…They see you as a threat because you're smarter than they are…And so--and she began to understand that. So I--we don't really get into it about black and white anymore.

It would seem that Lashawn has had several conversations with her daughter along this thread, making it no longer necessary to "really get into it about black and white anymore." Her daughter understands the source of the maltreatment and conversations no longer revolve around "spelling it out." Lola S.'s daughter has no problem stating when she thinks she has encountered someone racist or actions she deemed to be racist. Lola S. stated, "But as I said, she's very observant. She would come home to me and she may make--sometimes she'll make a statement. She'll say, 'Well, Mom, I think this person's racist,' or, 'I think this teacher's racist.' And what I'll do is I don't jump on it like, 'Oh, my God. Let me go up to the school. Let me talk to the principal.' And I'll ask. I'll say, 'Well, why do you say that and what makes you think that and what do you--or what did you see?'" Clearly, Lola S.'s daughter has been taught what racism is and how she should respond. Lola S. has prepared her daughter for bias by explaining to her

what racism is and by pointing out instances of racism; however, Lola S. does not just react to her daughter's notions. She judiciously attempts to assess whether or not what her daughter experienced, saw, or heard is indeed racist.

Vicky knows that mistrust of the "other" exists and she believes that she has been at the receiving end when it comes to being an African American in a predominantly white community, one which has had a large Jewish presence. Vicky shared that she has overheard conversations using coded language referencing the influx of African Americans to her community over the years.

> Unfortunately there's--I think there's a lot of chatter amongst some Jewish members of the community and I've even heard some people comment, 'It's changed so much. It's changed so much.' And I'm thinking, 'What do you want me to do? Leave?' I've been here for 15 years. It's time for you to stop looking at me as brand new and 'what are you doing here?' So I guess sometimes I just have to watch myself. The kids are fine but I kind of have to watch myself. And like you, I'm--I really look closely at how are you being treated 'cause I don't want my daughter friends with someone who's going to a home environment and bringing back that negative commentary and chatter.

Although she has not intentionally instructed her daughter to manage interracial relationships carefully, in closely monitoring her daughter's interactions with her Jewish friends Vicky may have inadvertently sent the message that such relationships are not to be fully trusted.

Kim S. demonstrates how certain aspects of a child's interracial relationships can potentially impact how the child relates to her parent.

> I remember I became very good friends with a dancing school mom, and the daughter could say 'Oh mom you're a freak!" They would call names to each other and refer to first names and all kinds of things. And my daughter became very close to this little girl, they were very close in age and I liked the mom and she and I were friends. But then I would come home and it would be, 'No we don't call each other names' and 'No you don't call me by my first name' and I think on occasion I told her 'I'm your crazy black momma and you're not going to relate to me in the way that you watch your friend relate to her mom.' I can't tolerate that. It's not going to work, I'm not your peer.

Kim S.'s experience required that she address what her daughter witnessed take place between her white friend and her mother, childrearing practices which Kim S. deemed as inappropriate and unacceptable. The message that Kim S. sent to her daughter was that the ways in which her white friend related to her mother were not transferrable to the relationship between she and Kim S. Essentially, Kim S. cautions that when dealing with your Caucasian friends be careful of imitating what you see because what may work in one household may be fiercely prohibited in another.

A couple of mothers were quite overt in their characterizations of the types of relationships they believe blacks and whites typically have. Mac feels that boundaries differ between blacks and whites when it comes to the kinds of questions that are appropriate to ask: "I'm saying white folks will ask you some stuff that a black person wouldn't dare to ask you. Would not dare ask you… But still when it comes to my personal life, I just don't see myself being best friends with 'Bob' and 'Alice.'" Mac believes that these perceived cultural differences reflect just how superficial interracial relationships are likely to be for her, and by extension, her daughter. It is from this standpoint that Mac warns her daughter about the inevitable changing contours of her relationships with her young, white girlfriends as they move into middle school and beyond. Certainly Mac's daughter is aware of her mother's misgivings concerning black-white relationships.

Transmission modes for interracial coping messages. It is clear that verbal communication is the most frequent mode of transmission for these mothers, however, modeling and role-playing are also modalities utilized by these mothers. Lola S. is a candidate for use of the role-play transmission mode for interracial coping messages. Even if Lola S. did not explicitly mention the use of role-play, it is quite likely that she used this modality to provide her

daughter with examples of racism. In prompting her daughter to distinguish between racist and non-racist acts, Lola S. might have employed hypothetical scenarios. Additionally, in assessing whether what her daughter judged to be racist actually met Lola S.'s standard for racism, Lola S. possibly used phrasing such as: "Well, did he say it like *this* or did he say it like *this*," in an effort to determine tonality and infliction which could perhaps establish intent.

Vicky, Kim S., Mac, Tiffany, and Lashawn each use modeling to some degree and/or in combination with verbal communication. Whereas Kim S. explicitly sent the message that her daughter is to be careful in her dealings with Caucasians, Vicky and Mac may not have shared that same sentiment explicitly, nonetheless, it is obvious that they have modeled this sentiment for their daughters. Vicky is quite clear that she pays close attention to her daughter's friendships, especially those with her Jewish friends, to make sure that they are not making her to feel as though she is an interloper; and Mac's unequivocal declaration of not seeing herself establishing friendships with "Bob and Alice" demonstrates that the actions of these mothers have gone a long way in transmitting a particular message regarding interracial relationships. Lashawn and Tiffany also share similar sentiments regarding interracial relationships and how one should manage them. Not only have they told their daughters how they would deal with white neighbors who have treated them unfairly, they also have modeled for their daughters this same message:

> Lashawn: So what I did was--no not me…I'm not spending another dime on these kids…
>
> Tiffany: So what I would do is I will tell my daughter we're not inviting her. There will no longer be a choice. I will control my end of it and I'll explain exactly why to her. I would not spend my energy on trying to explain to somebody else's ignorance.

Tiffany and Lashawn have made the message quite plain for their daughters; under no uncertain terms will they extend hospitality to individuals who will not reciprocate.

Egalitarian messages transmitted. Mainstream messages which emphasize interracial equality and peaceful coexistence fall within the purview of this category. These are the types of messages which speak to what it means to be fundamentally human, how to best actualize one's potential, and wanting the best for your offspring. The egalitarian messages can be divided into two categories: global and personal. Global egalitarian messages are quite general and could be transmitted by any parent to their child; personal egalitarian messages are particular and reflect a specific trait that the child possesses.

Global & personal.

Table 6.2 contains examples of the global and personal egalitarian messages that mothers reporting transmitting. The bolded words/phrases reflect the egalitarian core of the message.

Table 6.2: Examples of Global and Personal Egalitarian Messages Mothers Transmit

Global egalitarian	**Personal egalitarian**
Kim S.: **contributing to society** and really **finding themselves** and **becoming the person that they are intended to be** that they're called to be.	Vicky: If she says she has an interest in drawing or something and you'll say, "**You know, you could do a lot with that and you are very good at that**"…You don't have to be the first African American to win at Wimbledon or this and that. **Do what you love, what you're passionate about.** If it makes you a million, great. **If it just makes you a happy, kind person then good too.** You don't have to have the weight of the whole race on your shoulders all the time.
Ruth: I don't have a problem teaching them about another culture another race…so that **they see people for who they are and not for what color their skin is.**	
Lola C.: It just took some time to get her adjusted to the way the world is and to, **we accept people for who they are**. Whatever color they are, **if they're nice to you then you can let them be your friend**…	Mac: One of the things that I teach my daughter, **I try and teach logical thinking**…So I try to teach her that **she has a right as a person to question anything that doesn't make sense to her**.
Sherry: I always tell my daughter **to treat people how you want to be treated**…And so I wanted her to **interact with different races because of the area that we were in so she can learn how to handle herself in certain ways with different cultures**…	Sherry:. . .**just be yourself and grades come first before anything**. It's okay to have fun but grades, **sometimes you do have to work harder because you have--you're in competition with everybody**, not because of their race but you're in competition.
Natasha: I think a big part of it is I didn't grow up in a diverse neighborhood whereas my kids are. They'll be comfortable having those conversations as adults, I believe, and **because we are a global society now, I think they'll be more comfortable with working and communicating with people outside of their race**.	Lashawn: And I tell her--I said to her, "**I really don't want her to get angry**." I want her to--'cause people are gonna make you mad…You know how Obama handles himself. He's so cool. He never flies off the handle. And I don't want her to do that. **Don't fly off the handle**.

Renee: So but what I like is I guess because she's younger and **she's getting the experience to deal with different cultures earlier on**, it's not that big of a difference to her. I mean, it doesn't make her any difference right now, **which is the way it should be.**	There's lots of words in the dictionary you can use to get your point across.
Auntie: definitely **perseverance** and definitely the sense of **not only respect for herself but respect for others** so that she **recognizes when somebody is disrespecting her**…	Auntie: … you know, the adage, treat someone as you want to be treated to me is a very--unfair statement because **most people want to be treated how they want to be treated**. And so I try to teach her that **if it's somebody that's emotional, you need to handle them a little kinder. For somebody that's harder, you need to get a little more aggressive.**
Mac: [values] I feel really lucky with my daughter 'cause a lot of her friends, **they all have very similar values**. So my kid, take--if she's watching something on TV that's inappropriate, **she's gonna be the first one to say, "Oh my gosh, that is so inappropriate."**	
Paris: and you always want as high, better, better, better, right? So if you had an opportunity to get her in the school of choice, **we wanted to get her in the school of choice and we were able to**.	
Lola S.: As you said, **everybody wants their child to have the best education, to be challenged and everything. And so that's why we put her in the district for that very reason** because we want to give her the best education…	
Kim D.: But I am saying this summer was for us to **be outdoors and enjoy nature and stuff like that**. Like you were saying, **play is so important and just being around the physical world** and not just being in front of the screen or in the front yard or the table all the time.	

Transmission modes for egalitarian messages. For many of the mothers egalitarian messages are transmitted via verbal communication and modeling. Mothers are providing direct instruction to their daughters using conversation or demonstrating the behavior they want their daughters to imitate. For example, when Mac talks about the values that she is happy her daughter and her friends share, she has used her own actions as a way to reinforce this message of how to respond to inappropriate behavior. Mac shared this with the focus group when she stated,

> I mean, we had to walk out of a movie a couple weeks ago because the first thing Cameron Diaz said in the movie was like, 'Okay, maybe that's just a little sin'…I'm like, 'I think I'm being irresponsible if I sit here with these two 13 year olds. We got to go.' *Bad Teacher* [a movie starring Cameron Diaz]. It just wasn't appropriate for kids… I can't--I'll just be ashamed of myself if I sit here and watch this with you guys 'cause I wouldn't be comfortable at all.

Mac's daughter has learned through her mother's words and deeds how to judge when and react to something that is inappropriate. Paris' quote also highlights how her message of the importance of a quality education is transmitted via her actions when she stated, "So if you had an opportunity to get her in the school of choice, we wanted to get her in the school of choice and we were able to." She and her husband—like so many other families—did what they had to do to provide her a quality education within their public school district. Lola S. also fits into this category alongside Paris. Sherry, Natasha, and Renee each emphasized the importance of diversity and learning together with people of different cultural backgrounds as a way to prepare their daughters for a global society. They have modeled this message by moving to suburban communities which can offer a much more diverse educational setting than what would be found a predominantly black community. Lastly, Kim D. has modeled for her daughter the importance of connecting to the natural environment by making sure they spent much of the summer outdoors, enjoying and exploring nature.

Other message types transmitted. Two other types of messages that mothers reported transmitting fell into the categories of intersectional status and internalized racism. Intersectional status reflects specific messages about being African American and female. These are specific notions about experiencing life at the nexus of race and gender, a racial-gender identity. In this study, messages of internalized racism takes two forms: 1) internalized negative stereotypes about being African American that leads one to believe that she is inferior to whites; and 2) experiencing/combating black-on-black prejudice.

Intersectional status. The tenor of intersectional status messages transmitted was of what being a double-minority means, self-love, and beauty & intellect. For several mothers intersectional messages were used to explain to daughters what it means to be a black female.

Monique tells her daughter that it means having "Tough skin. Take out race—you're already a minority because you're a woman/young girl." Tiffany wants her daughter to understand that, "You just have to really be an advocate for yourself. You have to be willing [to speak up for yourself]."

Rita explains, "Little black girls grow up to be strong black women…" Toni adds, "You are a little black girl and the world is not always going to be kind because of your color, your heritage, because you're a girl and not a boy. . ." Paris recognizes that because her daughter "doesn't go to a predominantly black school. We don't live in a predominantly black neighborhood" she has to do what her mother did for her which was "try to reproduce being proud of being black and being a female and just being a positive role model. But I think that I do do more. There's a more conscious effort, I think, on my part than my mother's part, I think again because of where we are." And Taylor reverts to the lessons her mother taught her about the possible pitfalls young black girls need to avoid.

> So I'm like you [referring to another mother] I'm still on that same strong, you don't have any children out of wedlock, you wait for the man that God has for you and you wait until, save yourself for marriage and I'm just like on, even now with her being the young age but when I pray over her when I say prayers I speak that into her so that's really the key thing.

Lola C., Christina, and Lashawn tell their daughters that being a black female means working harder than others to get your just due.

> Lola C.: Like what I said before, what my mom taught me. You have to show that you're able to be where you are and you can do the job just as well, if not better… But I want her to have that balance of bring it and show it, but I want you to feel comfortable in who you are and still you know, be accepted.
>
> Christina: Same thing, children growing up, my daughter growing up in a predominantly white area now…So it's just really trying to put that effort into reinforcing that you are good enough. So I feel like that's where my focus is and really making her strong and positive in her own self.

> Lashawn: But I just tell her, "Look. You're African American and you got to be smart." You--you got to stay in the game here. Don't let anybody manipulate you and bully you into doing something that you don't want to do or something that you know is not right.

For each of these mothers it is important for daughters to understand how their race and gender intersect and where they fit within the larger social structure as African American girls. That they are just as smart, if not smarter, just as capable, if not more so than their non-black counterparts; however, their talents and skills may be overlooked simply because of their race-gender, requiring them to excel at whatever they do.

For some mothers intersectional status messages are used to convey ideas about self-love, beauty and intellect. Natasha thinks that it is important that her daughter has a love for self that is strong.

> Instilling in her knowing that God loves her first and she is to love God also and then self love that at the station she is in her life right now, acceptance is really important. But teaching her that if she loves herself from the inside that that protrudes outwardly and that people knows that she's confident. People knows that she has a sense about herself that 'I demand the respect' that we kind of talked about. So I try to instill in her that you have to love and like yourself before anyone else can.

It is this love for self that might buffer against the negative images that many young black girls are subjected to. Mac also thinks that self-love is important especially when it comes to physique. Mac stated, "But I think it's important when they are able to accept themselves or girls who aren't thin or girls who--both my girls are curvy like me." Mac's statement reinforces the idea that young girls, African American girls in particular, are being judged by and judging themselves by a standard that does not reflect their body types. Mac understands the importance of accepting one's self in the face of this contradiction. For Renee and Sherry accepting one's phenotypic features is demonstrative of self-love and acceptance. Sherry shared, "I also want to add about confidence too. My daughter is dark skinned. Pretty girl. A lot of people tell her, "Oh, she's a pretty *dark skinned* girl." Okay….And so no matter how--if you're beautiful,

you're beautiful, no matter how dark, how light you are." Although Renee has experienced acute issues with colorism, it seems she believes her daughter has yet to do so: "For my daughter, based on what my lesson was, I always tell her how pretty and how beautiful she is. But she has not, so far, had that experience that I had." Still, she finds it important to reinforce to her daughter how beautiful she is, without the qualifier "dark skin." Lola L. tells her daughters how beautiful they are, yet she believes it to be as equally important to point out the importance of intellect. Lola L. reminds her daughters of "this slogan from Judge Judy [which I have] rolling through my house, I tell them that 'dumbness is forever and beauty fades.' So I tell them how beautiful they are but the beauty will eventually change. And it will still be beautiful in another way and as we age but I tell them that what they have in their brains, no one can take that away from them and they've got to get it now."

Kim D. would most likely agree with Lola L.'s sentiment. Kim D. believes that notions and depictions of beauty are just setting her daughter up for problems with identity issues. She believes that it is important to filter what her daughter is exposed to at an early age. Kim D. seeks to play down the princess construct and narratives promoting the idealized standard of beauty that runs counter to the black female experience, let alone the vast majority of white females.

> Because I don't want her getting into all of this princess stuff which, to me, Disney might have a black princess but it's--not necessarily to me like--I don't know that princess yet, [Tiana]. She's seen one of those movies but I'm not--she's young so I haven't let her see all the other videos yet. She really wants to see Pocahontas which I got at a garage sale and I throw that in the basement. You're not ready yet for this male/female thing. There are issues there and it's all this beauty stuff. You have to be beautiful. But the standard of beauty is the difference, is not what you look like. Right? So then I don't want her to try to be like--you know, like this is what I have to attain, this standard.

Transmission modes for Intersectional status messages. Messages pertaining to being a black female are transmitted via verbal communication and modeling. Lashawn is explicit in her use of verbal communication to convey her intersectional status message: "So I be telling her, 'Look, you're an African American girl. You got to be smart.'" The same can be said for Sherry, Renee, Lola L., Lola C., Christina, Monique, Tiffany, Rita, and Toni. Paris clearly uses modeling as her mode of transmission as evidenced by her statement that, "I do replicate what they [her parents] did as far as the positive role model. But then I think I do more. Because of the circumstances and I think just generational differences too." Kim D.'s refusal to allow her daughter to get swept up in normalized depictions of femininity and notions of beauty standards is reflected by her concerted effort to keep her daughter's world free of merchandise which endorses these ideas. She is essentially modeling for her daughter which narratives about femininity and beauty are acceptable. Taylor, Natasha, and Mac most likely use a combination of modeling and verbal communication to transmit their intersectional status messages.

Internalized racism. Messages of internalized racism either reflect internalized negative stereotypes about being African American that leads one to believe that she is inferior to whites or experiencing/combating black-on-black prejudice. Plenty of mothers have discussed colorism and its hurtful effects in the African American community. When colorism rears its head, it is as a result of internalized racism. A couple of mothers did mention things that might reflect internalized racism messages. Ruth and Sherry have had experiences that might have led them to develop negative stereotypes about African Americans. Ruth has an issue with books that focus on the black experience as opposed to a universal theme with characters that just happen to be black. She shared, "Usually when you do find a book about black kids it's always about being black. Sometimes I wonder 'can it just be a black kid who has a normal life without it being

black?'" Ruth would like more material that backgrounds race or where race is treated arbitrarily. Transmitting such messages could lead her daughters to develop feelings of shame or embarrassment about being black causing them to attempt to strongly endorse an assimilationist or self-hatred identity attitude. Sherry feels that too much emphasis is placed upon being a racial minority in this country and how one must counter assumptions of inferiority. Instead of emphasizing racial differences she stated, "I try to go the opposite direction. I don't try to tell her that some--'cause what I got from it is that they're better than you so you have to work extra harder. So I don't try to instill that in her at all." Sherry is sensitive to how preparing a child for bias can have the unintended effect of making the child feel that she is deficient or less able than her white counterparts and thus must work harder in order to overcome some innate inadequacy.

Other mothers mentioned internalized racism in relation to their daughters having to confront black-on-black prejudice. Natasha shared that the ostracism her daughter faces is at the hands of other black children: "My daughter has the exact opposite experience. And this is what--kind of why I always have to kind of come back to self, self, self with her. It's the black girls that give her hell from, 'You think your clothes are all of that? You think you're prettier.' And my daughter is the most quiet child ever…It's the black girls." Lola L. has noticed that Natasha's concern is a problem for children in the local communities. She demonstrated this when she stated, "But I noticed in Michigan the African American children that are in the predominantly white schools, a lot of them don't get along and they have a lot of struggles with their own race." Lola L. believes she has one remedy for this problem, she continued by stating, "And so I always try to tell my children that they have to get along with their own before they get along with others." Sherry does not want her daughter to be one of the little black girls Natasha is talking about.

> And I don't want my daughter looking at other black kids and thinking that she's better than them because she has all these multi-racial friends and everything and they don't have anybody that they know at the school and that they're friends with. So you always treat people how you want to be treated. Make new friends, no matter what color they are.

In this instance Sherry believes it is important for her daughter to do some of what Lola L. prescribes.

Transmission modes for internalized racism messages. Modeling and verbal communication are the two modalities used to transmit internalized racism messages. Ruth's criticism of black-themed books has been modeled for her daughters. In so doing it is likely that she has also, perhaps inadvertently, communicated her displeasure to her daughters. Natasha vehemently expressed to her daughter her feelings about the black-on-black prejudice her daughter has endured.

> And I told her--I finally told her, we were shopping one day and I never let my children hear me swear, but she's just going on. She's behind me and she's talking about, 'Oh, and she said this and she said I was this.' I turned around and I says, 'I'm gonna say something to you that I've never said before in my life to you.' And I used the F-word. I said, 'F them.' I said, 'You never have to speak to them again in your life if you don't want to. Stop trying to be accepted.' And she looked. But she got it. She really got it. So now I don't hear those names. She doesn't complain.

It is clear that Natasha's daughter got the message. For Natasha combating black-on-black prejudice means being confident in who you are as a person and ignoring disdain from others. Natasha believes that things have gotten better for her daughter at school.

> But she keeps a diary. I don't go looking for it, but if it's out I will read it…I never tell her what I've seen 'cause those are her thoughts. She talks about me. She talks about everybody in the house and I get on the phone and I call my sister because I'm upset. But those are her thoughts. So I think it's gotten better for her, but she doesn't have a problem with the other race. It's her own race that gets at her.

Summary

Mothers reported having transmitted messages reflecting all six of the Parent-CARES subscales. Consequently, of the four broad racial socialization message types, mothers reported that they transmitted messages reflecting all four. An abundance of Egalitarian messages were transmitted by mothers. Egalitarian messages were categorized into global (messages that were universal and could be conveyed to any child no matter her race) and specific (messages which were more reflective of a personal attribute). Additionally, it appears that mothers transmitted specific messages referencing their daughter's racial-gender identity and what it means to be a black female, just like they received. These types of messages were subsumed under the label Intersectional Status, a category within the "Other message types" section. Although Internalized Racism is a Parent-CARES subscale, it is not included in the 4 broad message type's schema and was thusly included in the "Other message types" section. While there were numerous examples of Intersectional Status messages, there were very few examples of Internalized Racism messages, similar to what mothers reported about their own socialization experiences.

Connecting the Focus Group Findings to the Quantitative Data

This section will examine the six Parent-CARES subscales frequencies to determine which individual subscale messages focus group participants admitted endorsing. Each Parent-CARES subscale is comprised of anywhere from seven to thirteen statements that mothers had to indicate how often ("never," "a few times," or "lots of times") they transmitted the statement, how they convey ("show," "role-play," "tell," "expose") it, whether they would give the statements to sons more, daughters more, or same for both, and how often they were told the statement growing up. Out of the 53 items on the Parent-CARES measure, which individual

statements were shared by mothers in the focus groups and what percentage of survey respondents transmitted the message?

Cultural socialization messages.

Cultural legacy. The Cultural Legacy subscale of the Parent-CARES instrument was comprised of seven items requiring mothers to indicate how often they tell their daughters a particular message and how often they recall being told the message. The seven statements are listed below. One of the seven messages was repeatedly expressed by mothers during the focus groups. Statement #20 was one which mothers reported either having received a similar sentiment or transmitting a similar sentiment. For example, Rita stated, "I basically tell my girl the same things I was taught: You gotta know your heritage…" and Mac shared that it was important that her daughters "…understand the struggles that we've gone through as a race…" Also, Rita recalled that her parents "always stressed knowing your roots, because without roots you're nothin'." In the survey 84% of mothers responded that they transmitted this message making it the most frequently transmitted (See Table 6.3). Eighty-three percent of mothers indicated that they received this message (it was the 4th most frequently received). The second most frequently transmitted Cultural Legacy message was found in statement #6 (78%). It was the most frequently received message, recalled by mothers (88%).

Table 6.3: Parent-CARES Cultural Legacy Frequencies

Parent-CARES Survey Question #	Statement	How often do you tell your daughter? (Valid %)			How often were you told this? (Valid %)		
		Never	A few times	Lots of times	Never	A few times	Lots of times
4.	**Schools should be required to teach all children about Black history.**	46.6	25.2	28.2	26.5	41.8	31.6
6.	**It's important to remember the experience of Black slavery.**	22.3	46.6	31.1	12.4	30.9	56.7
20.	***Knowing your African heritage is important for the survival of Black people.***	16.5	52.4	31.1	17.2	33.3	49.5
25.	**To be Black is to be connected to a history that goes back to African royalty.**	41.6	43.6	14.9	29.9	40.2	29.9
33.	**You should learn more about Black history so that you can prevent people from treating you unfairly.**	51.5	40.4	8.1	41.1	44.4	14.4
39.	**Black slavery has affected how Black people live today.**	41.4	47.5	11.1	15.9	54.5	29.5
44.	**America built its wealth off the backs of slaves.**	59.8	35.1	5.2	14.3	45.1	40.7

As mothers racially socialize their daughters, preparing them for their roles as caretakers and fortifiers of the black community, it is understandable that connecting "knowledge of heritage to survival of the race" is the most frequent Cultural Legacy message they transmit. Mothers being told to "remember black slavery" more frequently than other Cultural Legacy messages perhaps partially grounds their acknowledgement that their daughters' historical comprehension is paramount to their role in securing the continued existence of black people.

Cultural pride reinforcement. The Cultural Pride Reinforcement subscale of the Parent-CARES instrument was comprised of eight items requiring mothers to indicate how often they tell their daughters a particular message and how often they recall being told the message. The eight statements are listed below. During the focus groups, mothers expressed the sentiments reflected in statement #1 the most. When it came to being proud of being black, Monique's mother "always said to be proud of who you are. . ." consequently Monique tells her daughter to "Be proud of your heritage, be proud of who you are." Renee also shared that she was told by

her grandmother "to hold my head up and to be proud of my heritage." The survey results indicate that 90% of mothers transmit statement #1 making it the most frequently transmitted Cultural Pride message (See Table 6.4). It is also the most frequently received message reported with 87% of mothers indicating having received it. As previously stated in Chapter 4, (using statement #1 as a measure for the prevalence of racial socialization), racial socialization is a child-rearing practice engaged in by 9 out of 10 mothers participating in this survey; a much higher percentage than reported in many previous studies investigating parental racial socialization (Lesane-Brown, 2006).

Table 6.4: Parent-CARES Cultural Pride Reinforcement Frequencies

Parent-CARES Survey Question #	Statement	How often do you tell your daughter? (Valid %)			How often were you told this? (Valid %)		
		Never	A few times	Lots of times	Never	A few times	Lots of times
1.	*You should be proud to be Black.*	10.1	30.3	59.6	13.1	29.3	57.6
7.	"Don't forget who your people are because you may need them someday."	61.5	29.2	9.4	35.1	36.2	28.7
21.	Children need signs of Black art and music in their home to feel good about themselves.	48.5	30.7	20.8	34.4	38.5	27.1
26.	It is important to go to Black festivals and African American History Museums.	21.8	43.6	34.7	20.6	41.2	38.1
34.	Black people have to work together in order to get ahead.	41.6	38.6	19.8	15.8	42.1	42.1
50.	Black women keep the family strong.	40.2	37.1	22.7	19.1	52.8	28.1
51.	Good Black men are the backbone of a strong family.	47.5	32.7	19.8	29.7	47.3	23.1
53.	Africans and Caribbean people get along with Black Americans.	85.1	13.8	1.1	83.1	15.7	1.2

The second most frequently transmitted message concerns race- and culture-specific activities. Over 78% of mothers believe that it is important to involve their daughters in such activities. This was a sentiment that appeared throughout the various focus groups as well. Eighty-four percent of mothers reported that "black people need to work together to get ahead" as their

second most frequently received message. However, this is not a Cultural Pride message which they report transmitting with frequency to their daughters, even though this sentiment did come up in the focus groups.

Preparation for bias.

Racial & religious coping with antagonism. The Racial & Religious Coping with Antagonism subscale of the Parent-CARES instrument was comprised of nine items requiring mothers to indicate how often they tell their daughters a particular message and how often they recall being told the message. The nine statements are listed below. Statement #19 is the message which mothers expressed the most during the focus groups. Many mothers echoed some sentiment associated with statement #19. For example, Toni tells her daughter, "God is only going to give you as much as you can bear…" and Auntie learned the "lesson that God blessed the child that has his own." The survey results indicate that 86% of mothers transmit this message and 99% of mothers reported having received this message (See Table 6.5). Therefore, mothers transmitted and received this message most frequently.

Table 6.5: Parent-CARES Racial & Religious Coping w/ Antagonism Frequencies

Parent-CARES Survey Question #	Statement	How often do you tell your daughter? (Valid %)			How often were you told this? (Valid %)		
		Never	A few times	Lots of times	Never	A few times	Lots of times
12.	**Teachers can help Black children grow by showing signs of Black culture in the classroom.**	56.3	32.0	11.7	50.5	38.9	10.5
17.	**Going to a Black school will help Black children feel better about themselves.**	96.1	3.9	0.0	58.2	35.2	6.6
19.	***A belief in God can help a person deal with tough life struggles.***	14.6	21.4	64.1	1.0	38.5	60.4
23.	**Sometimes you have to correct White people when they make racist statements about Black people.**	39.8	49.5	10.7	29.3	41.4	29.3
24.	**Spiritual battles that people fight are more important than the physical battles.**	70.0	13.0	17.0	50.5	32.3	17.2
30.	**You should speak up when someone says something that is racist.**	30.7	52.5	16.8	15.6	52.1	32.3
32.	**"Train up a child in the way he should go, and he will not turn away from it."**	45.0	21.0	34.0	24.2	37.4	38.5
36.	**You should ignore people that make racist comments.**	76.7	23.3	0.0	60.6	35.1	4.3
38.	**Black children should be taught early that God can protect them from racial hatred.**	80.0	16.0	4.0	75.6	18.9	5.6

The second most frequently transmitted message was that of "speaking up when someone says something racist" (69%), it was also the second most frequently received message (84%). In this case it appears that when it comes to messages regarding racial & religious coping with antagonism, mothers transmit to their daughters the same messages that they received. According to the frequencies, first, mothers rear their daughters with reliance upon God to help them cope with racial hostility, and then mothers train their daughters to be unafraid to speak out against racism when one hears it. The salience of religion comes across in the focus groups and is supported by the survey data as 98% of mothers indicated that they were religiously affiliated and 92% of mothers indicated that their religion was "very" or "extremely" important to them.

Alertness to racism. The Alertness to Racism subscale of the Parent-CARES instrument was comprised of seven items requiring mothers to indicate how often they tell their daughters a particular message and how often they recall being told the message. The seven statements are listed in Table 6.6 below. Mothers often expressed transmitting and having received sentiments similar to statement #22. Lola S. was told that "as an African American person that you would have to work twice as hard and do things twice as well as the next group of people, especially Caucasian people." Valerie was told to "be strong and work twice as hard" and now tells her daughters, "You know, you're not going to do whatever the standard is or the norm. I want you to go above and beyond that… And maybe if you do that then it won't be as hard for you as it was for me, is my thinking." Tiffany was told "…you have to be three times as better as anybody else just because you're black. You just have to be" consequently she tells her daughter, "You have to be able to stand above and beyond the average person because you will be overlooked by a lot because you're black unfortunately…You have to work twice as hard." Survey results indicate that 61% of mothers transmit this message, however, it is only the second most frequently transmitted message (See Table 6.6).

Table 6.6: Parent-CARES Alertness to Racism Frequencies

Parent-CARES Survey Question #	Statement	How often do you tell your daughter? (Valid %)			How often were you told this? (Valid %)		
		Never	A few times	Lots of times	Never	A few times	Lots of times
11.	***Racism is real, and you have to understand it or it will hurt you.***	35.6	49.5	14.9	20.0	29.5	50.5
22.	**You have to work twice as hard as whites in order to get ahead in this world.**	38.8	43.7	17.5	3.1	27.6	69.4
28.	**Whites make it hard for people to get ahead in this world.**	81.6	16.3	2.0	18.2	40.9	40.9
35.	**Whites have more opportunities than Blacks.**	64.4	29.7	5.9	8.7	34.8	56.5
41.	**Black youth are harassed by police just because they are Black.**	61.9	35.1	3.1	15.9	46.6	37.5
43.	**More jobs would be open to African Americans if employers were not racist.**	79.8	20.2	0.0	22.5	50.6	27.0
46.	**Sometimes you have to make yourself less threatening to make White people around you comfortable.**	90.6	6.3	3.1	55.0	38.8	6.3

The most frequently transmitted message was that "racism is real and you have to understand it or else it will hurt you" with 64% of mothers transmitting it. For this sample, it is understandable that the "racism is real" message is more oft-repeated as it would seem that if racism is real, as a consequence one must "work twice as hard as whites in order to get ahead." Raising daughters in predominantly white schools and communities necessitates—for these women—vocalizing the existence and nature of racism in order to prepare daughters for the racial animus they might face. However, 97% of mothers report that they were more frequently told that they would have to work twice as hard in order to get ahead. The message that "racism is real" was not an academic exercise that the parents of these mothers had to engage in—perhaps these mothers vicariously experienced racism through their parents' lived experiences. The second most frequently received message mothers recalled was that of "whites having more

opportunities than blacks" (91%). Therefore, one has to work twice as hard because whites have more opportunities due to white racial hegemony.

Promotion of mistrust.

Interracial coping. The Interracial Coping subscale of the Parent-CARES instrument was comprised of nine items requiring mothers to indicate how often they tell their daughters a particular message and how often they recall being told the message. The nine statements are listed below.

Table 6.7: Parent-CARES Interracial Coping Frequencies

Parent-CARES Survey Question #	Statement	How often do you tell your daughter? (Valid %)			How often were you told this? (Valid %)		
		Never	A few times	Lots of times	Never	A few times	Lots of times
2.	**You need to learn how to live in a White world and a Black world.**	60.0	16.0	24.0	29.2	36.5	34.4
5.	**You can't trust Black people who act too friendly with White people.**	98.0	2.0	0.0	59.6	37.2	3.2
8.	**Sometimes you have to look and act more like White people to get ahead in America.**	86.6	13.4	0.0	62.1	30.5	7.4
10.	**Since the world has become so multicultural, it's wrong to only focus on Black issues.**	88.2	9.8	2.0	87.0	9.8	3.3
14.	**You really can't trust most White people.**	93.0	5.0	2.0	33.7	43.5	22.8
15.	**Fitting into school or work means swallowing your anger when you see racism.**	87.4	7.8	4.9	64.5	33.3	2.2
18.	**You have to watch what you say in front of White people.**	64.1	25.2	10.7	22.3	34.0	43.6
27.	**You can learn a lot from being around important White people.**	80.6	17.5	1.9	51.0	37.5	11.5
29.	***Racism is not as bad today as it used to be.***	58.4	34.7	6.9	51.1	37.8	11.1

During the focus groups, mothers recalled that they received sentiments similar to statement #14. In particular, Rita shared, "I was told and I saw how white people have to be dealt with carefully…" and Lashawn stated, "the way I grew up is like you don't have nothing to do with them [whites] either." Mac mentioned that "when it comes to my personal life, I just don't see myself being best friends with 'Bob' and 'Alice.'" Mothers were less likely to explicitly endorse

statement 14's sentiment to their daughters. Although Rita received a very clear message of mistrusting whites, she chooses to not do the same with her daughter. Rita stated, "I don't tell it like I was told. She's too young." According to the survey results, only 7% of mothers reported transmitting statement #14 (making it the second least frequently transmitted), yet 66% of mothers reported having received this message (See Table 6.7). It would appear that mothers may have received the message to be suspicious of white people, yet these mothers do not explicitly transmit this notion to their daughters as borne out by the survey data and focus group conversations. The least frequently transmitted message was "You can't trust Black people who act too friendly with White people" with only 2% of mothers transmitting this message. None of the focus group conversations endorsed this statement either.

The first and second most frequently transmitted Interracial Coping messages were "Racism is not as bad today as it used to be" (42%) and "You need to learn how to live in a White world and a Black world" (40%). At first glance these results may seem contradictory, however, if we contextualize them we arrive at consistency. From the focus group conversations it is clear that mothers are not taking a conservative position when 42% tell their daughters that racism isn't as bad today as it used to be. For these mothers—whose parents lived in the Jim Crow South or who they, themselves, attended racially segregated schools—the racism that their daughters will experience may not be as palpable. So when mothers of daughters living and attending school in white communities which may have restricted their residential access previously (i.e., through racially restrictive covenants or as sun-down towns) express the "racism is not as bad today as it used to be" sentiment, they are comparing and contrasting the experiences of their parents' generation and their own against that of their daughters'. Essentially, mothers are saying that "racism may not be as bad today as it was for me and your

grandparents, but it still exists and you will face it, therefore prepare to live in a divided society: one that is white and one that is black." The fact that the first and second most frequently received messages reported by mothers were "You have to watch what you say in front of White people" (78%) and "You need to learn how to live in a White world and a Black world" (71%) only underscore the previous points regarding mothers' experiences of their parents' everyday reality juxtaposed against the reality mothers are seeking to ground their daughters in.

Egalitarian messages. The Parent-CARES instrument does not measure Egalitarian messages, explicitly or implicitly. Mothers clearly transmitted these types of messages (See Tables 6.1 & 6.2). However, this broad category of racial socialization messages, which can be found in the extant parental racial socialization literature, is not reflected within the Parent-CARES metric.

Other message types.

Intersectional status. Intersectional status messages reflect the lived experience at the intersecting locations of race and gender. This type of message may express the positive and negative stereotypes associated with being a black female. The Parent-CARES does not have an intersectional status subscale, however, it does attempt to ascertain the degree of gender-specificity in racial socialization. For each question respondents were asked to indicate whether they would give the statement to sons more, daughters more, same for both, or if they would give the message at all. Based on examining simple frequencies, on all 53 items, the overwhelming majority of mothers would either give the same message equally or not at all (particularly for many of the Internalized Racism statements). However, the anecdotal evidence and the existing literature contradict what mothers reported in the survey. Previous research has established that racial socialization is a gendered process with girls receiving more cultural legacy and cultural

pride messages than boys (Brown et al., 2009; Dotterer et al., 2009; Hill, 2001; Hughes et al., 2009; Thomas & King, 2007). Furthermore, focus group participants did, occasionally, make distinctions between what would be told to their daughters versus sons versus gender-neutral messages. Further statistical analysis is needed to examine this phenomenon in depth as simple frequency distributions provide only a rudimentary understanding.

From the focus group conversations it is quite apparent that mothers felt it important to prepare their daughters for what it means to be a black female in America. When the mothers were asked what they learned about being a black female from their mothers or other primary caregivers, Lola C. shared that "one of the things she [her mother] emphasized was because I'm black and female I'll have to show and prove myself a lot harder to be noticed and to be recognized that I'm worthy for whatever it is that I'm doing." Sherry shared this same sentiment when she stated, "I was taught that you, being female and African American, you already got two strikes against you so you have to work extra hard." Mac shared that "we're strong and very independent women and part of that was taught because my father was in the military and my mother primarily raised us. . ." and Natasha's mother "…taught me and my sister especially always have your own. Always have something for yourself no matter who you're with or not with, have something of your own." Tiffany wants her daughter to understand that, "You just have to really be an advocate for yourself. You have to be willing [to speak up for yourself]" and Rita explains that she tells her daughter, "Little black girls grow up to be strong black women…" Christina adds that she tries, "… to put that effort into reinforcing that you are good enough. So I feel like that's where my focus is and really making her strong and positive in her own self." There is one statement on the Parent-CARES metric which can be used to gauge whether the survey respondents transmit similar messages to their daughters. Statement #50 asks

how often mothers tell and were told that "Black women keep the family strong." Sixty percent of mothers reported transmitting this message while 81% of mothers recalled receiving this same message (See Table 6.8).

Table 6.8: Frequencies Reflecting Transmission & Reception of Intersectional Status Message (Parent-CARES)

How often do you tell your daughter: Black women keep the family strong.					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Never	39	36.8	40.2	40.2
	A few times	36	34.0	37.1	77.3
	Lots of times	22	20.8	22.7	100.0
	Total	97	91.5	100.0	
Missing	System	9	8.5		
Total		106	100.0		
How often were YOU told this while you were growing up?					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Never	17	16.0	19.1	19.1
	A few times	47	44.3	52.8	71.9
	Lots of times	25	23.6	28.1	100.0
	Total	89	84.0	100.0	
Missing	System	17	16.0		
Total		106	100.0		

Sixty percent is a majority, just not the overwhelming majority that might have been anticipated. What is clear from the focus group discussions is that mothers of this study do transmit a set of Intersectional status messages that are not reflected in the Parent-CARES measure. Mothers of elementary-age daughters attending predominantly white schools are socializing them around themes of black-female identity and its multidimensionality.

Internalized racism. The Internalized Racism subscale of the Parent-CARES instrument was comprised of thirteen items requiring mothers to indicate how often they tell their daughters a particular message and how often they recall being told the message. The thirteen statements are listed below. During the focus groups some mothers recalled having received messages reflecting internalized racism sentiments, but none of those themes are reflected in the thirteen

Parent-CARES statements. Mothers very rarely transmitted these messages. In fact, the survey results clearly bear this out (See Table 6.9). These items required reverse coding when calculated.

Table 6.9: Parent-CARES Internalized Racism Frequencies

Parent-CARES Survey Question #	Statement	How often do you tell your daughter? (Valid %)			How often were YOU told this? (Valid %)		
		Never	A few times	Lots of times	Never	A few times	Lots of times
3.	**When Black people get money, they try to forget they are Black.**	84.3	15.7	0.0	46.7	43.5	9.8
9.	**Living in an all Black neighborhood is no way to show your success.**	98.0	2.0	0.0	87.1	7.5	5.4
13.	**Black children will learn more if they go to a mostly white school.**	89.2	6.9	3.9	72.3	23.4	4.3
16.	**Poor Black people are always looking for a handout.**	90.3	6.8	2.9	63.4	34.4	2.2
31.	**Life is easier for light-skinned Black people than it is for dark-skinned Black people.**	94.2	1.9	3.9	47.8	25.0	27.2
37.	***Some Black people are just born with good hair.***	78.2	19.8	2.0	46.7	29.3	23.9
40.	**Black people are their own worst enemy.**	88.7	11.3	0.0	37.8	40.0	22.2
42.	**Black people are just not as smart as White people in Math and Science.**	91.8	6.2	2.1	76.1	20.5	3.4
45.	**Sports are the only way for Black kids to get out of the hood.**	98.0	2.0	0.0	60.7	38.1	1.2
47.	**Light skinned Blacks think they are better than dark-skinned Black people.**	96.9	3.1	0.0	53.6	29.8	16.7
48.	**Black men just want sex.**	91.7	6.3	2.1	52.4	40.5	7.1
49.	**African and Caribbean people think they are better than Black Americans.**	94.8	5.2	0.0	66.3	33.7	0.0
52.	**Black women just want money.**	100.0	0.0	0.0	60.7	30.1	1.2

It is interesting to note that the top three Internalized Racism messages that mothers reported transmitting were “Some Black people are just born with good hair” (22%), “When Black people get money, they try to forget they are Black” (16%), and “Black people are their own worst

enemy" (11%).Similarly, the top three Internalized Racism messages that mothers reported receiving were "Black people are their own worst enemy" (62%), "Some Black people are just born with good hair" (53%), and "When Black people get money, they try to forget they are Black" (53%). Mothers reported receiving these messages at much higher rates then they report transmitting them.

Chapter 7

Bridging the Qualitative & Quantitative Results-Motherwork Strategies

A mixed methods approach to identifying the strategies that African American mothers use to promote a positive racial identity in their elementary-age daughters attending a predominantly white school gives detail to the quantitative findings and situates the qualitative findings within a larger context. Descriptive and inferential statistics amassed through the 106 surveys are brought to life when connected to the words and lived experiences of the 21 mothers participating in the focus group discussions.

This chapter seeks to bridge the two set of findings so that we are left with a more nuanced understanding of the processes of parental racial socialization, racial identity development, and gender identity development and their roles in helping mothers promote a positive racial identity in their elementary-age daughters attending a predominantly white school. To do so, this chapter begins by detailing and exploring the phenomenon of motherwork that emerged during the focus group discussions. The chapter concludes by investigating the quantitative data to determine if/how the motherwork strategies are embedded within the statistical data.

Strategies Mothers Use to Promote a Positive Racial-Gender Identity

Motherwork. A very important theme which emerged from the analysis of the focus groups findings were the strategies mothers used to promote a positive racial-gender identity in their elementary-age daughters. One set of strategies which mothers employed represent one dimension of Patricia Hill Collins' *motherwork* phenomena. Motherwork is the "reproductive labor" that women of color engage in to ensure the survival of family, community, and self (Collins, 1994). Mothers in this study use three particular strategies: Presence, Imaging, and

Code-switching. Presence consists of the keen awareness of one's physical appearance and the role it plays as mothers advocate for their daughters; being visible in the school and at school functions; and being deliberate in interactions with school personnel to gain leverage that will benefit daughters. Imaging consists of mothers working hard to teach and show their daughters how to embrace their phenotypic features through the use of role models, home décor, and activities outside the home. Code-switching helps daughters navigate various cultural milieux with dexterity.

Presence. Mothers are keenly aware of their physical appearance and how it can hinder or bolster their use of presence as they advocate for their daughters. Time and again mothers across every focus group spoke to the importance of appearing kempt and appropriate while being visible and interacting within various school settings. Quite a few mothers spoke to feeling as though they bore a burden, the burden of representing all African American/black women when encountering the predominantly white school or community setting. Mothers shared that they felt the need to carry themselves in the best light as they may be *the* African American/black person by which white neighbors, parents, or teachers would judge all other African Americans/blacks. In this way mothers were very sensitive to how they appeared when dropping their children off at school (whether walking them to the bus stop, into the school building, or remaining in the car), when working the book sale, or when attending parent-teacher conferences, sporting events, or school plays. The preoccupation with being viewed as the spokesperson/representative for all African American/black people carried over into the everyday activities African American mothers engaged in while moving through the predominantly white spaces of their community. Physical appearance also encompasses annunciation, tone of voice, and the awareness of gestures used. Lola C. states,

> My appearance, yes, my articulation of certain words, my demeanor, my—how I'm sitting in my chair, everything…my voice, in my experience, black women voices have a little bit more bass and are a little bit more heavier than Caucasian women and I keep that in mind.

Mothers feel that it is important to represent themselves and their daughters well when in the public sphere. Not only is it important for these women, it also seems they believe that it is vitally important for their daughters' self-concept and self-image. These mothers work hard to shatter the stereotypes and caricatures of black women that prevail in American society, whether one resides in suburbia or in an urban center. Mothers are very aware of how instrumental their aesthetic presentation of themselves is at allowing them to fully exercise the two additional aspects of presence.

For mothers in this study, being visibly present in the elementary schools of their daughters and using presence as deliberate interactions are paramount. These two aspects of presence allow mothers to flex *social capital* that will ultimately help their daughters. Bourdieu defines social capital as "an asset of the individual or group that participates in social networks, which can be used to obtain information and assistance of various kinds" (as cited in Bailey-Fakhoury and Dillaway, 2011, p. 174). Caughy and O'Campo suggest that "[p]ositive parent involvement in child-rearing is the social capital within the family that supports healthy child development" (2006, p. 143). Kim. S. demonstrates this when she commented,

> But I do know what you mean to start the classroom…to think and try to come in and speak to the teacher and [I] did tell her that 'I'm you ally and I'm on your side,' I'm here with you however I can help you,' and 'what do you need,' and what can we do to work together and speak to each other and help the children to gain their goal cause I know how hard it is.' I know how hard what you do is. I'm very well and aware and I tried to become a kind of a parent-peer with the teacher in the classroom and kind of be assistive.

The relationship and network that Kim S. seeks to form with the teacher is one of equality where each understands the part she plays in the academic success of Kim S.'s daughter. Kim S.

understands that establishing this "parent-peer" relationship will have tangible benefits for her daughter.

As mothers seek to rear their daughters with a positive racial-gender identity in a predominantly white school setting, they are exercising social capital which can provide access that leads to optimal outcomes for their daughters. While flexing social capital, mothers are simultaneously becoming adept at amassing and transmitting *cultural capital* or (as Stanton-Salazar writes) the "high-status linguistic and cultural competencies (e.g., values, preferences, tastes) that students inherit from their parents and other "cultural brokers" such as siblings, peers, and "institutional agents," (as cited in Strayhorn, 2010, p. 309). Mothers shared that it was important for their daughters' sense of self and for their own well-being to be visible at school plays, fundraisers, parent-teacher conferences, parent group activities, and to just occasionally "show your face" on an ordinary school day. Doing so demonstrates that you are an involved parent committed to her child's education—that you are an active and engaged mother. Rita explains it quite succinctly when she shared,

> I can't just turn over my daughter and let it be, trusting that she'll be all right…I'm not like some of these other moms, I have to be in her teacher's classroom, in the school letting them know that I've not some passive momma, letting my daughter know I'm doing what's best for her.

Mothers are calculated in their interactions with school personnel. When encountering personnel, especially their daughters' teachers, mothers view these encounters as opportunities to gain leverage to be used to benefit their daughters in some fashion, either at present or sometime in the future. Interactions with teachers may be used to elicit information that not all parents are privy to, to assess what supplies or additional things the classroom teacher needs/desires, or to forge an open line of communication between the mother and the teacher. Taylor says that,

> I definitely gain favor with all my teachers. I go in to win you with kindness. Intentionally to be like…'is there anything you need in the classroom?' [my daughter] gains favor in her class based on what I do, my participation.

In these instances the mothers seek to do what they deem necessary to give their daughters an advantage in a setting where they may be disadvantaged because of their race and/or gender. Deliberate interactions with the teachers and other school personnel may erode barriers that were erected as a result of faulty perceptions and preconceived notions. However, sometimes mothers put their best foot forward and make various overtures to the teachers but teachers may still not reciprocate. Lola L.'s experience provides an example of this.

> But I want to go back to my daughter's elementary school because I was hands on at that school. I was there every week on Thursdays volunteering to help my daughter's class from ten o'clock until about 11:30 when they went to recess. To make a long story short and I thought I had an open door policy with the teacher and we talked all the time. How is she doing? Is she behind in anything? What's going on this week? She would send home little literature every week telling me what was going on but I would still make that contact with her every week because I felt like I'm here. I can do this. Well she was doing really good and then come around March of this year they had--the school district and at the elementary level is doing a different math. Our district is the only district that's doing it and I can't stand it. But to make a long story short she started telling me that my daughter in the first grade was struggling in the math. And so I said, 'Okay.' She--I wanted to know why I hadn't been told sooner. So she said, 'Well, I sent things home.' But what she doesn't know about me is that the first thing I told her was I'm gonna--we had a parent conference, parent teacher conference and this is when I found out. She told me that she did an assessment and she didn't know that she was behind until she did the assessment. Well I didn't understand why you didn't know ahead of time. Okay, so she does the assessment. She says that she feels like she was struggling in this particular area of math knowing her--some of her change, like coins, quarters and different things like that. But what I said to her was I've been in your class every day since October. This is something that you could have said to me. I thought we had--I basically told her exactly how I felt at that parent conference. I said, 'This is something that I thought I had an open door with you because that's how you brought us into your class.' It's an open door policy. She even came to our home to drop off some packages before school started and found out where everybody lived and so I explained to her. I can't remember how our conversation totally went but she knew that I was very unhappy finding out so late in the school year. So the first thing I say to her is, 'Okay, now that we know that she's behind, what can I do to get her caught up and what do you plan to do to make it happen in your class?' So we talked about some of those things. But to make a long story short, she realized that I was gonna be there for my daughter and that I wasn't going to let her off the hook either. And we started communicating.

> As a matter of fact, around eleven o'clock that night after the parent conference, she emailed me and she told me that she couldn't sleep thinking about our conversation that day. And she said that you are right. We have had a policy where you and I have been communicating. I've been seeing you every week and she basically said in the email, her exact words, 'I did drop the ball.' And she said now I want to work with you through June to get her where she needs to be in this particular part of the math which is the counting of the money and different things like that. But I didn't like that she waited so late in the year to make that happen when we had had such a pleasant experience from September of the year before up until March.

Her sharing of this experience elicited the following exchange during the focus group:

> Valerie: Wow! A lot of parents experience that.
>
> Tiffany: She'd [the teacher] been just kind of ignoring the fact that you were in the room.
>
> Lola L: Well I just think that you have to be really, really even more hands on. And I'm finding that--
>
> Kim D.: Have to be proactive.
>
> Lola L.: --there are--I like the [African American parents] network because it's communicating with parents of color. I don't think it's all just African American, but parents of color that are getting things that normally we would not receive. And I like that about that network.
>
> Valerie: Imagine if you were too busy, if you were a single mom or something and you couldn't be in the classroom for your kid.
>
> Lola L.: I would leave my job.
>
> Tiffany: It's just--it would just--yeah, your kid would just fall through the cracks.

This exchange demonstrates the precarious position a mother could find herself in, even after doing all in her power to be visibly present and deliberate in her interactions with her child's teacher. Lola L. exercised a type of agency that many parents only dream of. To be present in her young daughter's class every week—for almost the entire school year—and still being treated as though she was invisible, not worthy of this teacher's additional time or effort. How could this teacher engage with this parent once a week since October, yet only communicate in March that Lola L.'s daughter was struggling? Surely there were signs throughout the many weeks of instruction that her daughter was experiencing some difficulty, did the teacher just miss

them? One can only imagine what happens to children in large, urban school districts whose elementary classrooms are not capped at 22 or 24 children and whose parents are working two or three jobs just to make ends meet.

Imaging. Another strategy mothers employ to promote a positive racial-gender identity and to advocate for their daughters attending a predominantly white school is that of imaging. Mothers are sensitive to the images they put before their daughters whether through household décor, personal grooming, extracurricular activities, or popular media. One area which led to very impassioned conversations was that of hair and how mothers of these young girls deal with this issue. The subject of hair has a long, turbulent history in the African American community, especially for African American women. One's hair texture, hair length, hairstyle, and adornments can signify a great deal about the person upon which these are found. Numerous African American women have *hair stories* to tell. As young African American girls attempt to find their place in their family, clique, school, or community—in a society that places overt value on long flowing, straight blonde locks—hair and the meaning it is imbued with can be a harbinger of things to come. Mothers are supremely cognizant of the American standard of beauty and realize that their daughter's phenotypic features are antithetical. For the majority of these mothers it is essential to provide various alternatives to the American standard of beauty, images which reinforce the unique, versatile beauty of African American women. As such, mothers pride themselves in the ways in which they style and adorn their daughters' hair, styles that many non-black girls are unable to achieve. Mothers work hard to teach and show their daughters how to embrace their natural self and to take pride in what is uniquely their own. Ruth demonstrates this tactic when she stated,

> And what I tell my girls is yes we're different. There are different skin colors and hair textures, but I try to remind them to accept who they are. This is how God created you; this is how God created your hair to be, so accept who you are.

Renee also provides an example of this.

> So she was just like, 'Well I just don't understand why my hair does this and M's [her white classmate] hair doesn't do this.' And I said, 'Well there's different grades and textures.' And we have that book right there, the *I Love My Hair*. And we have some other books that speak to that as well. And I was like, 'Everybody's hair is not the same…But I think sometimes it bothers her just because she wants to be like the other girls. And I'm like, 'Well this is just something that's gonna--that makes you unique. As I tell you all the time, God makes everybody different. Mommy can't wear her hair down without some form of chemical or something and you're not ready for chemicals. So we just gonna do what little girls do.' I said, 'Look, you're only eight. Little girls wear ponytails.'

Many mothers were forced to address the subject of imaging through hair when their daughters came home asking to wear their hair in styles worn by their white counterparts. Daughters were told that their hair was "unique," "special," "different" and could not be worn "down" or "long." Lola L. provides an example of such an exchange.

> Mommy, I want my hair like this.' And that's when I had read an article. I want to say it was in *Ebony* or *Essence*, I can't remember, but it talked about how we as African American mothers are not sharing with our children how beautiful they are. And so I started making changes at home by telling my girls how beautiful they are with their complexions and their hair is beautiful. And I would use God and say, 'What happens when God designs us is that we're all designed unique. We can drive down the street. We can see the same homes. We can drive different cars but they're all the same car. And you might have a Ford and you might have six Taurus's and they'll all be just different colors. But what happens with our bodies and our hair and our eyes is that it is a uniqueness that is priceless.' And I tell them what that priceless is. No one else can duplicate you and you are beautiful. When I started doing that with my children I'm saying five days out of the week letting them know how beautiful their hair was and how beautiful they were and how unique they were within themselves, that made the change on what they wanted to pick up on the shelves. It helped. It helped. It doesn't solve everything but it helps coming from us to say you are beautiful and God designed only you.

Tiffany demonstrates how mothers help their daughters to recognize and appreciate their hair's versatility.

> And the most recent thing was they had spirit week and it was 70's day. And so we went online to look at how black folks looked in the 70s. And she was like, 'Can I do an afro?' I was like--Uh-huh, you can. And I talked to her. I said, 'Now let me be clear. Don't be surprised when you go to school and they're gonna want to touch it. They're gonna ask you how you do it. They're gonna ask you how does it stay like that.' And I was like, 'And you're gonna look at say--you're gonna be the only one who can do that.' I was like, 'So there's a certain beauty to that that they don't even have that option no matter how much grease and gel they want to put in.' And she was so proud and her teacher and everybody else. She came back. She said, 'You were right. They were all like, 'Wow.' And I was like--she was like, 'They told me you could do that every day. That's really cool.' And I said--she was like, 'It was cool, Mom.' I was like, 'So there's things that you can do with your hair that they can't do. So you don't be questioning anymore.'

Sometimes mothers found that their attempts to quell their daughters longing for length and styles—like their white classmates—by invoking the inherent beauty of their daughter's hair, backfired. For Auntie this was the case.

> Oh, my God, yeah. We dealt with it more so in the beginning when they all had the long, straight hair and she wanted her hair long and straight. And her hair is like her hair. And I said, 'You know, you don't--in an African American community, girl, you gonna have the most beautiful hair. You gonna have this and you gonna.' And I said, 'And people are gonna be jealous of your hair and blah, blah, blah, blah.' And she said, 'But we're not in the African American community.' And that really brought it home for me.

Christina's daughter tried to negotiate wearing her hair down without any accoutrements by simply giving up engaging in any sort of play.

> But it's--I think it's something that we're always gonna have to continue to have that conversation. She's like, "Well, I just won't run around and play." But I want you to play. I want you to get out and enjoy and play sports and all that. And you know, we just have to adjust our hair. We have to do it. But I don't want that to be a hindrance to you--your hair. I said, 'It's hair. I don't--it's what's on the inside of your head, not what's on the outside.' And so we try to have that conversation. I'm like, you are not gonna stop playing because you want your hair to stay straight. 'Yeah, I'm just gonna sit. I'm not gonna play at the recess…

Taylor wonders if she's wronged her daughter by not providing her an appropriate number of instances to see positive black images that her daughter could identify with.

> I just feel as an African American parent have I did her a disservice? I don't feel like I even put her in activities, black-centered activities besides going to church and things

> she's doing in church. Even at home we go to [a northern Oakland County] Y [YMCA] in [a city in Oakland County] we'll go to something else in [another Oakland County city] we do, we were doing an art club in [another city] which is still predominantly white people because they'd want to go to the actual arts studio. I'm just like I haven't put her in any settings to see people who look like her so she can say 'That image!' She's been asking me for twists [a more natural style] in her hair and I've been little leery about giving her twists in her hair just because I'm not free, I'm just not free, I'm just like 'Ohhhh!' I got to go outside of my box.

Taylor also fears that her own hair history is getting in the way of allowing her daughter to experiment with more natural hairstyles, ones which are not manipulated by chemical processes and various hair products.

Mothers reinforce messages about hair by pointing to (through family members, friends, passersby, television shows, or magazines) images of girls and hairstyles that were appropriate and attainable for their daughters. Mac provides an example of this.

> I remember the Pantene commercial, you know, having shiny hair and [my oldest daughter] asked me one day, 'Mommy, how come we don't have shiny hair?' I said, 'What do you mean?' And finally she shows me this commercial one day. I thought, 'Oh, okay.' And then Kenya Moore [Miss Michigan 1993, Miss USA 1993] became a spokesperson for Pantene and I was so happy. I'm like, 'Kelly, babe, look.' I said, 'We've got shiny hair!' And so she's like, 'Okay.'

Christina used television characters to try to bring home the point that there are plenty of styles that her daughter could wear that do not imitate those worn by her white classmates or are widely propagated through media.

> I had *The Cosby Show*, the hair. Look at Vanessa. Look at Rudy's hair. So I'm looking at these other little black children that don't have the perfect straight hair like you're seeing on TV and in school.

Another aspect of imaging that mothers used was that of role models. Mothers felt that it was very important to provide their daughters with role models that reinforce a positive self-image for their daughters. Mothers were keenly aware of the lack of role models in the classrooms, schools, and after-school activities/organizations of their daughters. For a majority

of the mothers in this study, their daughters could go the entire school day and not interact with one individual who "looked like them." This reality was very disconcerting for many of the women in this study.

> Paris: So I think the district is not very diverse. So that's disappointing. I would like to see more African American teachers in the school district, and men too. I mean, it's not even just from a race [standpoint]. I mean, there are no--the gym teacher is a man, right? I mean, stereotypical, that's it.

Paris highlights what the majority of mothers shared, not only is it vitally important that young girls interact with African American female teachers/administrators but these young girls need to see women and men in non-stereotypical gender roles. For at least one daughter, such an absence can bring one to tears.

> Lola S.: And usually we find out in August who the teachers were. My daughter was almost in tears. She's like, "Mom, you mean I'm never gonna have an African American teacher?" And I said to her--and I teased her, I go, "You already have one." And she goes, "Who?" I said, "Me." Last year she goes, "Maybe she'll [the only black teacher in the school] teach fourth grade," 'cause she's going to fifth grade. She did used to teach fifth grade. "Maybe she'll teach fifth grade." I said, "Yeah, but don't be disappointed if she doesn't." And I said, "Well maybe when you get to junior high school--middle school or high." I have to wait. So I mean, she does notice that. She mentions it, but I think once she gets into the school year and gets going, it--she doesn't let it affect her work or anything like that. But I think she is aware that, hey, I haven't had an African American [teacher].

Lola S.'s daughter's reaction to not having an African American teacher since attending her predominantly white school exemplifies the potential impact such a reality can have on the child. Many in the general public might underestimate the level of awareness young children of color have when it comes to the absence of teachers who look like them. One mother shared just how important she believed it is for her daughter to look up and see a black teacher at the helm.

> Tiffany: And as a matter of fact I have another friend who moved to--who lived in ___ but her daughters went to Montessori school. And when she transferred to our school she was very reluctant because it's the public school…And then she had a lot of questions about [the black teacher] and was asking me, "How is she as a teacher?" and this and

> that. And I said, "You know what? To be honest, it didn't matter to me 'cause I know what I'm doing at home to supplement." This is the one time my teacher's--my child's gonna look up and see somebody like her probably in the classroom. That alone is okay for me. I can take that 'cause I know I'm going to be doing my own stuff at home anyway to whatever the teacher's gonna be doing. So I--and I know she's a good teacher. I mean, she wouldn't be there. I mean, she's got to have some skills. So I was like, "It's more important for her." And she was like, "You know what? I never thought about that." She's like, "There's a whole other aspect to that that is worth it." And I was like, "Okay." So she ended up transferring her kid to school and put her in Miss ____'s class. So she was happy about that.

Tiffany's conversation with her friend who transferred her daughter from the Montessori school to the one attended by Tiffany's daughter reinforces how essential role models are for the daughters of these mothers. Tiffany counseled away her friend's initial hesitation and questioning of the black teacher's ability by: first, asserting the importance of parents supplementing the school curriculum (no matter who is in front of a child); second, acknowledging the value of having a black teacher for a black girl attending a predominantly white school; and third, addressing the unwarranted fear that the "black" teacher may not be as capable (as her white counterparts) by personally attesting for the teacher's qualifications. Doing these three things caused Tiffany's friend to re-think her stance and come to a realization that she had heretofore not grasped.

Mothers made efforts to involve their daughters in activities and organizations with predominantly black memberships in hopes of providing images of positive role models for their daughters. To this end, families who left the city for the suburb intentionally kept their membership in their church home, enrolled their daughters in dance troupes, Brownie troops, ice skating groups, and various clubs that were located in Detroit or another predominantly black city, and visited racially-/culturally-specific institutions. Valerie shared, "It's of course church. We go to a predominantly black church and then my daughter participates in swimming at the Y. And of course we've done other things like the ballet [at a dance school in the city] and all that

kind of stuff. But I tend to take them out of the district for activities instead of just keeping them in the district. Furthermore, Valerie demonstrates the importance of such efforts when she stated,

> People are still trying to figure out what their identity is out here. And I just have to throw this out there too that if you don't find an outlet, and I do mean outlet, if you don't find connections outside of your community for your children the odds are really high that they're gonna struggle with their self identity as they get older if they only rely on the people in your community to befriend them.

Mothers also work hard to be a role model for their daughter, demonstrating how to balance normative and alternative gender role expectations. Taylor and Lola C. refer to their own upbringing and the lessons they learned which they hope to recalibrate for their daughters.

> Taylor: My mom, she was so independent and I have it [independent streak] so bad that sometimes I have to kinda watch myself even as being a married woman, "Oh yeah, you got that [referring to her husband]. Ok just let me back off, you have that." Ok, showing my daughter the balance of having an opportunity to work, and perfect submission, where you are aligned with God, husband, and then you…so I think I make those changes in my daughter where I'm just like ok, you can do all this, but you don't have to.

In this instance Taylor identified that she developed her strength and independence—qualities which are usually labeled as masculine—prior to marriage, however, she actively seeks to background those qualities while foregrounding submission to and alignment with her husband, traits which are generally identified as feminine. She hopes to show her daughter that she can have/do it all as a woman, on her own, but that she does not have to. Her daughter can develop these qualities and has the option of foregrounding or backgrounding them at will; she does not have to be beholden to one set of gender expectations or another. Taylor was not the only mother who seemed to be fully aware of the multidimensionality of the black-female identity; an identity requiring a black woman to simultaneously and effortlessly maintain normative and alternative gender roles.

> Lola C.: But I'm also trying to teach her, but my mom's a little rough around the edges, I'm a little scuffed on the side [laughter]. But I'm try to give her who she is and build her up so, but to also let her be the softer side of a woman. And I can talk to you and still convey my point but not have you think I'm a bitter black woman who's a militant and I've got something to give, that softness… But I want her to have that balance of bring it and show it, but I want you to feel comfortable in who you are and still you know, be accepted.

Lola C.'s comment reflects the notion of the "hard" black woman. Black women are often perceived to possess masculine qualities, qualities which may define them as hard women as opposed to the feminine ideal of being "soft." Lola C. suggests that her "scuffing" is attributable to her mother's "roughness." That her female persona reflects, to a somewhat lesser degree, that of her mother's. She is acutely aware of this and is actively seeking to smoothly round-out her daughter: wanting for her to be assertive, have conviction, and speak up for herself yet simultaneously be more feminine and less threatening. Lola C. believes that with her tutelage her daughter can successfully strike this balance and be a whole and healthy individual.

The last aspect of imaging which emerged in the focus groups was that of reinforcing reflections of their daughters through home décor (and other consumables) and culturally-specific activities. Mothers purchased clothing, book bags, school supplies, books, posters and other items that reflected the phenotypic features of their girls.

> Paris: And like you said, I buy books, African American books. And if a television or movie or a show comes on, like *The Wiz* was on TV. I don't know if you've seen *The Wiz*. I wanted her to watch it. I ended up buying the DVD. I wanted her to see *The Wiz*.

One mother shared that she went so far as to alter Halloween costumes of Euro-American characters so that it reflected a more Afrocentric aesthetic when it adorned her daughter. Many mothers reported that whenever they could purchase goods or bring items into the home that reinforced their daughter's image, they did it. It appears that mothers believed this to be a key means of encouraging their daughters' positive self-image and racial identity. Vicky stated that

something as seemingly innocuous as watching a tennis match can even reinforce reflections of her daughter.

> I think sometimes a picture's worth a thousand words. If you see Venus and Serena playing tennis there's no question in your mind that brown skin can play tennis.

For these mothers, showing "brown skin" being successful, and other phenotypic characteristics that reflect their daughters' image, is vital to their development of a positive racial identity in a setting where these characteristics may be constantly disparaged.

Code-switching. In sociolinguistic parlance code-switching refers to "the practice of selecting or altering linguistic elements so as to contextualize talk in interaction" (Nilep, 2006, p.1). For purposes of this study code-switching refers to one's ability to move between cultural milieus at will and with fluidity. It involves knowing the appropriate cultural rules, prescripts, vernacular, and behavior unique to each setting and how and when to use them. Sometimes mastering the parameters of these milieus can be vital to one's carnal existence. Lola L.'s comment provides a profound example.

> This is another thing I tell my children. We go to California at least--we try to every two--at least twice a year. We haven't been there since 2009 because of the job changing. But every time I go we rent a vehicle. And when I call my children hear me say I don't want a red vehicle or a blue one because--my oldest girl is just now asking 'Why do you do that, Mommy?' My middle school girl is just asking me now, why? I have to tell her about Crips and Bloods. You need to know you go in the wrong neighborhood with the wrong color you getting shot up. Don't play… She's always gonna know when she goes to California and she becomes an adult she already knows that if something should happen to Mama we can't get a red car or blue car 'cause we going in the hoods because that's where our friends live.

Many mothers in this study actively teach their children to be bi/tri-culturally fluent. It is an exercise involving hypotheticals, role play, and practice. Taylor shared,

> I teach [my daughter] purposely how to flip the script…So you know how to act in one setting & you know how to act in another setting…She can flip it in her conversations. I watch her dialogue at school…Every now and then she'll be like 'What up doe' to her daddy…but at the private club she'll 'Yes, I would like to have a Shirley Temple, please.'

Kim S. called it "doing the Carlton" (as in the character raised in Bel Air on the television show *Fresh Prince of Bel Air*, starring Will Smith as a teen from Philadelphia who is sent to live with his relatives in California to escape the fate that befalls so many young men growing up fatherless in an urban area short on prospects and possibilities). Kim stated that her husband often puts on a cadence and mannerism that mimics the Carlton character—an African American character attending a prestigious, private, white all-boys prep school in one of the most affluent communities in California. At other times, her husband interacts with their children using the prescripts and vernacular of the Ninth Ward of New Orleans, LA, his place of birth. The ability to "flip the script" or "do the Carlton" is a skill that has been transmitted generationally. Valerie spoke to her ability to code-switch in the sociolinguistic sense and regarding its larger context encompassing norms, prescripts, and behavior.

> But it still ticks me off a little bit to this day when I encounter people in the community who act like they're shocked because I can code-switch. I know how to speak correctly when I'm with--you know, I can--you know what I mean? I feel like I live in three different worlds. I do. I feel like I fit into two black cultures and then whatever mainstream America is.

Valerie is irritated that others underestimate her code-switching dexterity. She understands the value of having this skill and employing it well. Her ability and use of this skill makes her feel as though she inhabits three worlds. When pressed to explain what was meant by "two black cultures" she replied,

> I think class, socioeconomic status separates the blacks, even in suburban communities because you find black people who are--won't join your parent groups because they don't want to be associated with that "black" label. They don't want to be seen with all the black people…There are levels of that. And then all the way on down to probably what we see on TV 'cause I'm not one of those people who says what you see on TV isn't real. I know it's real 'cause they're my family.

For Valerie her three worlds consist of mainstream America, blacks of her socioeconomic status and blacks of a lower socioeconomic status. Therefore code-switching is not just taking place

inter-culturally but also intra-culturally with varying degrees. Valerie explains what she means as she talked about the importance of exposing her daughter to all types of black people.

> But here's what--I had an *aha moment* last--earlier this year. I realized that though I'm taking her around other African American people and so I think that they're learn--they're being a part of their culture, what I'm not doing is I'm not taking them to be around certain family members or in the hood…Let me back up a little bit. My church, although it's predominantly black, is the church where you have all the professionals. So you have the proper speaking kids who are also kind of living in a suburban community. And so they're really not still learning how to interact and how to get along and understand and relate to everybody who is black… so you have--you got to take 'em around black people but they need to be around all types of black people. And that didn't really hit me until recently. I'm like, well, gosh these kids kind of live like [her and her family], you know what I mean? They all come here and they see each other here. But they leave and they go to their suburban communities too.

It is not sufficient, in Valerie's estimation, for her daughter to just associate with the African Americans that she encounters outside of suburbia, who reside in suburbia. In order to learn "how to interact and how to get along and understand and relate to everybody who is black," Valerie realizes that she and her family must transcend class boundaries, expanding her built community beyond the blacks that they encounter on a regular basis. Such a realization demonstrates the understanding that the black experience is varied and multidimensional. It also suggests a returning of middle-class blacks to the inner-city neighborhoods (more likely a strengthening of ties as many researchers believe that blacks have simultaneously held high levels of race & class consciousness and that black racial bonds supersede class bonds [Morris, 1996]), bringing with them the social capital and networks that William Julius Wilson lamented the disappearance of in his book *The Declining Significance of Race: Blacks and Changing American Institutions* (1978).

Mothers use code-switching to help their daughters navigate the dominant, minority status, & Afrocentric cultural terrains. The literature tells us that parental racial socialization

occurs across these three distinct milieus of our sociopolitical structure. Boykin and Toms (1985) named this phenomenon the triple quandary. African American parents must navigate these three terrains when socializing their children. The dominant culture reflects mainstream messages and expectations; the minority status experience is the milieu in which African American parents must prepare their children to face an oppressive society, one predicated on subjugation and dominance; and the Afrocentric/cultural experience is the setting in which African American parents educate their children about racial pride, traditions, and customs unique to being African American. Mac reflects this when she states that her daughter:

> …had the luxury of living in [an Oakland county suburb] and going to school there and being in the suburbs and their dad stayed in [Detroit]. So they got a chance to go home. And one of the things that did happen is my oldest one wanted to embrace what I call her ghetto badge of honor. So every time she would go home for the weekend… Boy, she couldn't wait. But then she'll come back and be a [suburban] girl…embrace being a suburbanite, when it's convenient for her and she can be a little hood when it's convenient for her , but it's all good…I'm glad that she has that it's a beautiful thing 'cause they do assimilate, they can go here and go here and fit in perfectly.

Although Mac does not explicitly state that she has overtly instructed her daughter in this fashion, it is assumed that her daughter has received instruction, whether direct or indirect, from either her mother and/or her father as to the virtues and benefits of being able to transition seamlessly from visiting her cousins in Detroit on the weekend to functioning in the dominant domain (suburbia) during the week.

Summary

Motherwork is extremely important labor that mothers do in order to advocate for their young daughters attending a predominantly white school. The three strategies discovered in this study that reflect a dimension of Patricia Hill Collins' motherwork concept are presence, imaging and code-switching. Presence consists of a keen awareness of one's physical appearance and the role it plays as mother's advocate for their daughters; being visible in the school and at school

functions; and being deliberate in interactions with school personnel to gain leverage that will benefit their daughters. Imaging consists of mothers working hard to teach and show their daughters how to embrace their phenotypic features through the use of role models, home décor, and activities outside the home. Code-switching refers to one‘s ability to move between cultural milieus at will and with fluidity. Mothers use this strategy as a way to help their daughters navigate various domains with dexterity. Each of these strategies is used by African American mothers to promote a positive racial-gender identity in their elementary-age daughters attending a predominantly white school.

The motherwork that these mothers undertake is critically important. Especially as we exist during a period that many Americans would label “post-racial” or “colorblind.” Nevertheless, such labels are far from truly capturing the lived experiences of many persons of color. Bonilla-Silva (2011) informs us that these labels reflect color-blind racism; racism that is subtle, negating institutional and structural racial inequality while advancing cultural deficiency and market-force explanations for the existing racial disparities. These colorblind ideologies are at work in the public school systems across this country. According to Wilson Cooper, these ideologies “compel educators to avoid understanding white privilege, remain unaware to the prevalence and/or effects of discriminatory practices, and perpetuate inequities that directly harm African American families and others” (2010, p. 343). Not only must mothers equip their daughters with tools to survive and excel in white spaces and within the African American community, they must do so while helping their girls navigate real, perceived, and invisible threats. The strategies presented here seem to be powerful ways that mothers of elementary-age daughters attending a predominantly white school engage in motherwork to ensure the survival

of their biological daughters, community daughters, and the African American community as a whole.

Quantitative Support for Motherwork Strategies

In an effort to increase our understanding of the nature of motherwork, the quantitative data was investigated to determine whether, or to what degree, the three strategies were embedded within. Various items on the Parent-CARES, CRIS, and WIAS-R were examined to see if this dimension of motherwork was reflected.

Presence. Presence consists of the keen awareness of one's physical appearance and the role it plays as mothers advocate for their daughters; being visible in the school and at school functions; and being deliberate in interactions with school personnel to gain leverage that will benefit daughters.

Cursory review of the Parent-CARES, CRIS, and WIAS-R items revealed that the only aspect of presence that may be reflected in the quantitative data is that of physical presence as opposed to visibility and deliberate interactions. Two of the items that were examined were the following:

1. Parent-CARES #46 (reception): Sometimes you have to make yourself less threatening to make White people around you comfortable.
2. CRIS #8: When I walk into a room, I always take note of the racial make-up of the people around me.

These two items were examined because they seem to best convey the concept of physical presence and one of its operational features when mothers interact with the teachers and administrators at their daughters' school. Reception frequencies for the Parent-CARES items are examined because presence primarily concerns the mother and her interactions with teachers and administrators. Table 7.1 is a crosstabulation that represents the numbers of mothers who agree that they take note of the racial make-up of people in a room and who also received the message that one should make themselves less threatening around whites (n= 58). The crosstabulation

demonstrates that 34% of mothers who take note of the racial make-up of occupants in a room were also told that they should make themselves less threatening around whites. If mothers who are aware of the racial make-up of their surroundings also received messages that they should make themselves less threatening (e.g., by altering vocal tones, gestures, etc.) when in the presence of whites, it is possible that they would endorse and use the physical aspect of the presence strategy. Thirty-four percent is not a majority; however, the data does seem to moderately support the physical presence strategy that emerged through the focus group conversations.

Table 7.1: Noticing Racial Make-up [X] Make Self Less Threatening to Whites Crosstab

			CRIS: When I walk into a room, I always take note of the racial make-up of the people around me.			
			Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
Parent-CARES: How often were YOU told this while you were growing up? Sometimes you have to make yourself less threatening to make White people around you comfortable.	Never	Count	8	19	11	**38**
		Row N %	21.1%	50.0%	28.9%	100.0%
		Column N %	44.4%	73.1%	78.6%	65.5%
	A few times	Count	8	7	3	**18**
		Row N %	44.4%	38.9%	16.7%	100.0%
		Column N %	44.4%	26.9%	21.4%	31.0%
	Lots of times	Count	2	0	0	**2**
		Row N %	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
		Column N %	11.1%	0.0%	0.0%	3.4%
	Total	Count	**18**	**26**	**14**	**58**
		Row N %	31.0%	44.8%	24.1%	100.0%
		Column N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Imaging. Imaging consists of mothers working hard to teach and show their daughters how to embrace their phenotypic features through the use of role models, home décor, and activities outside the home. Review of each instrument identified various items which could be examined for support of the imaging strategy. Questions related to the three (hair, role models, reflections of self reinforced) aspects of imaging were found in the Parent-CARES, CRIS, and WIAS-R.

Hair. To examine whether the survey data reflects the imaging through hair strategy, three items from the Parent-CARES were assessed:

1. Parent-CARES #37 (transmission): Some Black people are just born with good hair.
2. Parent-CARES #59a (addendum to original metric): Has your daughter done or said anything that mad you think she got the wrong message about her racial identity?
3. Parent-CARES #59b open-ended (addendum to original metric): If yes, please briefly explain.

Transmission frequencies for the Parent-CARES items are examined because the primary target is the daughter and the imaging through hair strategy is for the daughter's immediate benefit. Parent-CARES #37 demonstrates whether this message was transmitted by the mothers. I added Parent-CARES #59a & b to the questionnaire as an attempt to connect whether or not daughters exhibited incongruous race behavior and if so, in what manner. If mothers believe that daughters got the wrong message about their hair (from mother's transmission or via some other agent), then it is likely that these mothers are sensitive to this issue and will attempt to mitigate it. Table 7.2 demonstrates that of the 27 mothers who received the message that "Some Black people are just born with good hair" only 7 (26%) transmit this same message. Such a statistic seems to overwhelmingly support that mothers are sensitive to the issue and attempt to not pass this message to their daughters given that almost all of the mothers in the focus groups discussed hair, and their daughters wanting lengths and styles of their white female counterparts. That 26% of mothers who received this message, perpetuate it, suggests these mothers are perhaps experiencing cognitive dissonance as a result of internalized racial oppression. Mothers are cognizant of the American standard of beauty which their daughters do not fit, they want to counter this image by valuing the phenotypic characteristics of their daughters, yet many continue to subscribe to belief that there is such a thing as "good hair" in the African American

community. Good hair historically has signified a hair texture that is fine, soft, long, and similar to the locks of white females (Rockquemore, 2002). Consequently, "bad hair" is that which is extremely curly, coarse, and short and calls to mind negative images and the devaluation of the natural state of most African American females' hair.

Table 7.2: Reception [x] Transmission of the Message "Some Black People are Just Born w/ Good Hair" Crosstab

			Parent-CARES: How often were YOU told this while you were growing up? Some Black people are just born with good hair.		
			A few times	Never	Total
Parent-CARES: How often do you tell your daughter: Some Black people are just born with good hair?	Lots of times	Count	0	0	**0**
		Row N %	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
		Column N %	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	A few times	Count	7	0	**7**
		Row N %	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
		Column N %	25.9%	0.0%	10.0%
	Never	Count	20	43	**63**
		Row N %	31.7%	68.3%	100.0%
		Column N %	74.1%	100.0%	90.0%
	Total	**Count**	**27**	**43**	**70**
		Row N %	38.6%	61.4%	100.0%
		Column N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

As the focus groups bear out, one would assume that the majority of mothers who received this message would not go on to perpetuate it given the realities they face in raising young black girls in predominantly white communities and schools. The sensitivity to this hair issue that mothers expressed in their conversations is borne out by the survey results. To examine this issue further it was instructive to determine how many mothers believed that their daughters had received the wrong message about their racial identity—as it relates to hair—also received and/or transmitted the message that "Some Black people are just born with good hair." Table 7.3 is a crosstabulation that answers this question.

Table 7.3: Identifying Daughter's Behavior as Racially Incongruent [X] Transmission of the Message "Some Black People are Just Born w/ Good Hair" Crosstab

Hair Issues			
			Parent-CARES: **Has your daughter done or said anything that made you think she got the wrong message about her racial identity?**
			Yes
Parent-CARES: How often do you tell your daughter: Some Black people are just born with good hair?	Lots of times	Count	2
		Column N %	11.1%
	A few times	Count	6
		Column N %	33.3%
	Never	Count	10
		Column N %	55.6%
	Total	**Count**	**18**
		Column N %	100.0%

Forty-four percent of mothers who responded affirmatively to the question whether or not their daughter has done/said something that made the mother believe her daughter had gotten the wrong message about her racial identity, as it relates to hair, also transmitted the message that some black people are just born with good hair. For the small number of mothers who believe their daughter has said/done something that demonstrates she got the wrong message about her racial identity relative to her hair, less than half attest to transmitting a message that could lead to daughters' exhibiting language or behavior degrading her own phenotypic feature. Are these survey results a manifestation of the complexity of the nature of black women's hair in America? Do such perplexities arise because hair is such a contested area historically, socially, and politically? Or is it an attempt by mothers to assuage daughters' self-devaluation by suggesting that simply "the hair you get is just the hair you are born with," reflecting the trope "this is how God made you…He made us all different" therefore you should just embrace the diversity—the skin you are in—and not let it harangue you?

Role models. This aspect of imaging is multifaceted. Imaging through role models takes into consideration three things: lack of role models for daughters in their schools, seeking out

appropriate role models through race- and culture-specific organizations and activities, and mother as role model. Transmission frequencies for the Parent-CARES items are examined because the primary target is the daughter and the imaging through role models strategy is for the daughter's immediate benefit. To examine whether the survey data provides support for the imagining through role models strategy several items were scrutinized:

1. Parent-CARES #26 (transmission): It is important to go to Black festivals and African American History Museums.
2. CRIS #19: When I read the newspaper or a magazine, I always look for articles and stories that deal with race and ethnic issues.
3. Parent-CARES #34 (transmission): Black people have to work together in order to get ahead.
4. CRIS #35: During a typical week in my life, I think about racial and cultural issues many, many times.
5. Parent-CARES #50 (transmission): Black women keep the family strong.
6. WIAS-R #30: My most important goal in life is to fight the oppression of women.

The first question examined was that of how many mothers who look for race- or ethnic-themed articles/stories also believe that it is important to attend race- or culture-specific activities. Eighty-nine percent of mothers who look for race- or ethnic-specific articles and stories also tell their daughters that it is important to go to black festivals and African American History museums (see Table 7.4). This imaging strategy was mentioned by several of the mothers in the focus groups.

Table 7.4: Looking for Race/Ethnic Issues in Print Media [X] Transmission of the Message It's Important to Attend Race-specific Events Crosstab

			CRIS: When I read the newspaper or a magazine, I always look for articles and stories that deal with race and ethnic issues.			
			5 Somewhat Agree	6 Agree	7 Strongly Agree	Total
Parent-CARES: How often do you tell your daughter: It is important to go to Black festivals and African American History Museums?	Never	Count	3	0	0	**3**
		Row N %	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
		Column N %	17.6%	0.0%	0.0%	11.1%
	A few times	Count	11	3	2	**16**
		Row N %	68.8%	18.8%	12.5%	100.0%
		Column N %	64.7%	75.0%	33.3%	59.3%
	Lots of times	Count	3	1	4	**8**
		Row N %	37.5%	12.5%	50.0%	100.0%
		Column N %	17.6%	25.0%	66.7%	29.6%
	Total	**Count**	**17**	**4**	**6**	**27**
		Row N %	63.0%	14.8%	22.2%	100.0%
		Column N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Mothers who make a conscious effort to find articles and stories they deem relevant to them, from a racial/ethnic standpoint, demonstrate to their daughters the importance of engaging in race- and/or culture-specific activities. These are activities which can provide a potential pool of role models for their daughters. Table 7.5 also provides some support for the imaging through role models strategy. Sixty-eight percent of mothers who think about racial and cultural issues many times during the week also tell their daughters that "Black people have to work together in order to get ahead." A message of working together might indicate that mothers believe that seeking out African American role models for their daughters is a way to help young black girls get ahead. Mothers did state in the focus groups that they actively sought out potential role models for daughters at church and through various other places with strong black memberships.

Table 7.5: Frequently Think about Race/Cultural Issues [X] Transmission of the Message "Black People have to Work Together in Order to Get Ahead" Crosstab

			CRIS: During a typical week in my life, I think about racial and cultural issues many, many times.			
			Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
Parent-CARES: How often do you tell your daughter: Black people have to work together in order to get ahead	Never	Count	8	8	0	**16**
		Row N %	50.0%	50.0%	0.0%	100.0%
		Column N %	53.3%	27.6%	0.0%	32.0%
	A few times	Count	5	13	1	**19**
		Row N %	26.3%	68.4%	5.3%	100.0%
		Column N %	33.3%	44.8%	16.7%	38.0%
	Lots of times	Count	2	8	5	**15**
		Row N %	13.3%	53.3%	33.3%	100.0%
		Column N %	13.3%	27.6%	83.3%	30.0%
	Total	**Count**	**15**	**29**	**6**	**50**
		Row N %	30.0%	58.0%	12.0%	100.0%
		Column N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Mothers also use themselves as role models for their daughters. The WIAS-R was examined to determine if there were any questions which might lend support to this imaging strategy. The statement "My most important goal in life is to fight the oppression of women" was examined along with Parent-CARES #50. Table 7.5 demonstrates that 42% of mothers who tell their daughters that "Black women keep the family strong" are uncertain as to whether or not their most important goal in life is to fight the oppression of women and 43% of respondents disagree with the statement outright. That 42% of mothers who transmit the message black women keep the family strong are tentative in declaring fighting gender oppression as their life's most important goal is understandable. From the focus groups it was apparent that the majority of mothers possessed and transmitted a black-female identity, thus it may be difficult to parse out one over the other. Perhaps they see fighting racial and gender oppression as equally important and thus are in doubt about identifying gender oppression as their sole fight; the 43% of mothers who disagree with the statement might reflect this contention. As Settles (2006) writes, "[p]olitically, there has sometimes been a tension between the goals of black people and women as groups, which leads to the possibility that individual black women will feel torn between the potentially conflicting ideas, beliefs, and aims of the social and political groups that claim to

represent women and those that claim to represent blacks… As a result, this combined black-woman identity may take precedence in their self-concept over the individual identities of black person and woman." (p. 590).

Table 7.6: Transmission of the Message "Black Women Keep the Family Strong" [x] Fighting Oppression of Women Being Most Important Goal Crosstab

			Parent-CARES: How often do you tell your daughter: Black women keep the family strong?		
			A few times	Lots of times	Total
WIAS-R: My most important goal in life is to fight the oppression of women.	Strongly Disagree	Count	3	2	**5**
		Row N %	60.0%	40.0%	100.0%
		Column N %	8.6%	11.1%	9.4%
	Disagree	Count	11	7	**18**
		Row N %	61.1%	38.9%	100.0%
		Column N %	31.4%	38.9%	34.0%
	Uncertain	Count	17	5	**22**
		Row N %	77.3%	22.7%	100.0%
		Column N %	48.6%	27.8%	41.5%
	Agree	Count	4	4	**8**
		Row N %	50.0%	50.0%	100.0%
		Column N %	11.4%	22.2%	15.1%
	Strongly Agree	Count	0	0	**0**
		Row N %	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
		Column N %	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	Total	**Count**	**35**	**18**	**53**
		Row N %	66.0%	34.0%	100.0%
		Column N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Self-reinforced through home décor. This last aspect of imaging looks at reinforcing reflections of daughters through home décor and culture-specific activities.

1. Parent-CARES #21(transmission): Children need signs of Black art and music in their home to feel good about themselves.
2. CRIS #29: When I have a chance to decorate a room, I tend to select pictures, posters, or works of art that express strong racial-cultural themes.

Transmission frequencies for the Parent-CARES item is examined because the primary target is the daughter and the imaging through home décor reflecting self strategy is for the daughter's immediate benefit. Table 7.7 demonstrates that 64% of mothers who purposely decorate rooms with racial-cultural themes transmit the message that children need black art and music in their home. The survey data supports mothers' focus group conversations around purchasing items and decorating the home to reflect the daughter's racial identity.

Table 7.7: Home Décor w/ Racial-Cultural Themes X Transmission of the Message Black Children Need Black Art & Music in the Home Crosstab

			CRIS: When I have a chance to decorate a room, I tend to select pictures, posters, or works of art that express strong racial-cultural themes.			
			Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
Parent-CARES: How often do you tell your daughter: Children need signs of Black art and music in their home to feel good about themselves?	Never	Count	11	6	2	**19**
		Row N %	57.9%	31.6%	10.5%	100.0%
		Column N %	57.9%	26.1%	20.0%	36.5%
	A few times	Count	6	9	2	**17**
		Row N %	35.3%	52.9%	11.8%	100.0%
		Column N %	31.6%	39.1%	20.0%	32.7%
	Lots of times	Count	2	8	6	**16**
		Row N %	12.5%	50.0%	37.5%	100.0%
		Column N %	10.5%	34.8%	60.0%	30.8%
	Total	**Count**	**19**	**23**	**10**	**52**
		Row N %	36.5%	44.2%	19.2%	100.0%
		Column N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Code-switching. Code-switching refers to one's ability to move between cultural milieus at will and with fluidity. It involves knowing the appropriate cultural rules, prescripts, vernacular, and behavior unique to each setting and how and when to use them.

Navigating the dominant, minority-status, and Afrocentric domains. To examine if the quantitative data reflects the Code-switching theme, the navigating the dominant, minority-status, and Afrocentric domains aspect was used as opposed to the aspect of teaching bi-/tri-cultural fluency as no items were found that reflect such active instruction. The items that were reviewed were:

1. Parent-CARES #29 (transmission): You need to learn how to live in a White world and a Black world.
2. CRIS #16: I believe it is important to have both a Black identity and a multicultural perspective, which is inclusive of everyone (e.g., Asians, Latinos, gays & lesbians, Jews, Whites, etc.).

Transmission frequencies for the Parent-CARES item is examined because the primary target is the daughter and Code-switching strategy is for the daughter's immediate benefit. Table 7.8 is a crosstabulation that demonstrates only 37% of mothers who believe that it is important to have a black identity and multicultural perspective also transmit the message that daughters need to

learn how to live in a black and white world. Several of the mothers in the focus groups spoke to the Code-switching strategy and the survey data does appear to moderately support this notion.

Table 7.8: Multiculturalist Inclusive Sentiment X Transmission of the Message to be Bi-culturally Fluent

			CRIS: I believe it is important to have both a Black identity and a multicultural perspective, which is inclusive of everyone.			
			Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
Parent-CARES: How often do you tell your daughter: You need to learn how to live in a White world and a Black world?	Never	Count	13	23	9	**45**
		Row N %	28.9%	51.1%	20.0%	100.0%
		Column N %	50.0%	88.5%	47.4%	63.4%
	A few times	Count	5	1	5	**11**
		Row N %	45.5%	9.1%	45.5%	100.0%
		Column N %	19.2%	3.8%	26.3%	15.5%
	Lots of times	Count	8	2	5	**15**
		Row N %	53.3%	13.3%	33.3%	100.0%
		Column N %	30.8%	7.7%	26.3%	21.1%
	Total	**Count**	**26**	**26**	**19**	**71**
		Row N %	36.6%	36.6%	26.8%	100.0%
		Column N %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Summary

There appears to be statistical support for all three of the motherwork strategies. There is moderate support for the physical presence strategy as 34% of mothers who are aware of the racial composition of a room also were also socialized to make themselves less threatening around whites. These same mothers are more likely to be fully aware of their disposition and physicality when interacting with their daughters' white teachers and administrators. Support was also found for the imaging strategy. Mothers are fully aware of the stigma associated with black hair and over 70% of mothers make a conscious effort to not socialize their daughters with this stigma. Therefore, these are likely to be the same women who make sure that they highlight and praise their daughters' phenotypic characteristics. A majority of mothers surveyed also seem to endorse the idea that it is important for daughters to interact with African American role models in and outside of their communities. Mothers also try to influence their daughters' racial-

gender identity by modeling for their daughters the black-female ideal and by using home décor and other consumables to reinforce a positive self-concept for the girls. Quantitative support has also been found for the code-switching strategy. There seems to be a moderate indication that mothers foster a code-switching sensibility in their daughters.

Chapter 8

Discussion & Conclusion

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to identify the strategies that suburban, middle-class African American mothers use to promote a positive racial identity in their elementary-age daughters attending predominantly white schools. Examining this topic required

- exploring how these mothers conceive of the socialization that they do,
- identifying how they talk about racial socialization and racial identity, and
- determining what mothers do to socialize their daughters and to influence the development of their daughters' racial-gender identity.

One hundred six surveys were completed and six focus groups were convened to explore these issues and to identify the strategies mothers use to promote a positive racial identity. This mixed methods approach provided a wealth of information about the racial socialization practices of mothers and how these practices influence their daughters' racial-gender identity development.

The execution and analysis of this study were guided by a sociopsychological framework that rests upon the intersections perspective and the social-cognitive learning theory. A sociopsychological orientation required an understanding of the historic and contemporaneous machinations of race, gender, and class which allowed me to delineate "the dynamic interplay among historical situations, collective ideological interpretations, and individual explanation and analysis" (White, 2009, p. 159) of a subject matter that is "situated where meaning meets social structure, where identity frames inequality" (Winant, 2000, p. 171). Such a theoretical framework highlights the connectedness of the individual to the society—and the converse—by

locating mothers' lived experiences within a macro-level context and depicting how their micro-level interactions can alter the larger social reality. The significance of race and its attendant processes (i.e., racial socialization, racial identity development, etc.), gender, and class in America provide the soil within which these women's lived experiences and knowledge are cultivated, producing an awareness that seeks to force the terrain to become more equitable and bountiful for the sake of their offspring. Furthermore, marrying the intersections perspective with social-cognitive learning theory places a marginalized group whose voices have traditionally been silenced at the center of this research. Mothers' experiences, conceptions, and knowledge regarding racial socialization practices and racial-gender identity development are the subject of this work; our deeper understanding of this subject emanates from mothers' knowledge claims.

To investigate the strategies suburban African American mothers use to promote a positive racial identity in their elementary-age daughters three subordinate questions were examined:

1. Since racial socialization is a practice that parents of color engage in quite frequently, *how do suburban African American mothers conceive of the socialization (i.e., child-rearing) that they do*? In the focus groups mothers were quite mindful of the messages transmitted to their daughters by themselves, the media, and the larger society. Mothers talked about the necessary and inevitable work of preparing their daughters for a world that is not fair, a world that will treat them unfairly simply because of the color of their skin. Mothers did not regard the work as burdensome; however, having analyzed these discussions it is quite apparent that parental racial socialization of young black girls

attending a predominantly white school is an involved, complex task that may cause varying degrees of psychological and physical exertion for these women.

2. *What is the nature of the discourse when these mothers talk about issues of racial socialization and racial identity development (regarding them and regarding their daughters)?* Based upon survey results and focus group conversations mothers received messages representing the four broad racial socialization categories (Cultural Socialization, Preparation for Bias, Promotion of Mistrust, and Egalitarian). They also received messages around notions of Internalized Racism and their Intersectional Status (being a black female). Mothers transmit all of these messages, except for Internalized Racism, to a large extent. Mothers transmit the majority of these messages using the mode of modeling at a greater rate than verbal communication, exposure, or role-playing. Mothers speak of the importance of modeling for their daughters how they should carry themselves as young black girls, how to manage interracial relationships, the roles of black heritage and pride as well as religion in their lives, and the importance of being a member of a global society.

3. *What are the sorts of things these mothers do or say to socialize their daughters and to influence the racial identity development of their daughters?* From the survey results and focus group discussions mothers would say/endorse sentiments like: "You gotta know your heritage" and "Racism is real, and you have to understand it or it will hurt you." There are generational differences in the types of racial socialization messages emphasized by the parents of the mothers and the messages they in turn emphasize to their daughters. Mothers use a set of motherwork strategies to promote a positive racial-gender identity in their daughters attending a predominantly white school. Three of the

strategies are Presence, Imaging, and Code-switching. Presence consists of being visible in the school and at school functions; being deliberate in interactions with school personnel to gain leverage that will benefit the daughters; and the keen awareness of one's physical appearance and the role it plays as mothers advocate for their daughters. Imaging consists of mothers working hard to teach and show their daughters how to embrace their phenotypic features by using role models to reinforce a positive self-image and by reinforcing reflections of their daughters through home décor and activities outside the home. Code-switching refers to one's ability to move between cultural milieus at will and with fluidity. Many mothers in this study actively taught their children to be bi/tri-culturally fluent as a way to help their daughters navigate various domains with dexterity. Much of what mothers reported doing or saying reflects their personal experiences with race and racism (particularly in corporate America), racial socialization, and their own racial-gender identity development.

Four broad hypotheses with sub-hypotheses explored these three above questions. The hypotheses and their results are:

H_1. *Cultural socialization messages are more likely to be highly endorsed compared to the three other broad message types.* This hypothesis was supported. The Parent-CARES findings demonstrate that Cultural Legacy & Cultural Pride messages (taken together, they reflect Cultural Socialization) received a greater degree of endorsement than Preparation for Bias or Promotion of Mistrust messages).

a) *Message type will be significantly related to transmission mode.*

Support for this sub-hypothesis was partially demonstrated. Crosstabulations were analyzed to determine whether message type was significantly related to transmission mode. It was determined that statistically significant positive associations were found between Cultural Legacy messages and the verbal communication, exposure, and modeling modes. Only one statistically significant positive association was found for Cultural Pride messages, that of verbal communication. For Alertness to Racism messages, statistically significant positive associations were found for all four modes (modeling, role-play, verbal communication, & exposure). There were also statistically significant positive associations between the Racial & Religious Coping with Antagonism message and all four transmission modes. Only two statistically significant associations were established between the Interracial Coping message type and transmission modes. Associations were found for role-play and verbal communication. There were no statistically significant associations exhibited between Internalized Racism messages and any of the four modes of transmission.

b) *Mother's CRIS attitude will predict degree of cultural socialization message endorsement.* Only partial support was found for this sub-hypothesis. Multiple regressions were conducted to examine this hypothesis. For the degree of Cultural Legacy message endorsement, a forced entry regression determined that only two of the six CRIS attitudes significantly contributed to the model. Afrocentricity and Multiculturalist

Inclusive racial identity attitudes were the two explanatory factors that significantly predict degree of endorsement of the Cultural Legacy message. This model only accounted for 17% of the variance in degree of Cultural Legacy message endorsement. For the degree of Cultural Pride message endorsement, another forced entry regression determined that three of the six CRIS attitudes significantly contributed to the model. Regression results indicated that the three explanatory variables of Afrocentricity, Self-Hatred, & Multiculturalist Inclusive racial identity attitudes significantly predict degree of endorsement of the Cultural Pride message. This model accounted for 19% of the variance in degree of Cultural Pride message endorsement.

H_2. *Mothers are more likely to reflect a Multiculturalist Inclusive racial attitude than any other racial attitude.* This hypothesis was supported. The CRIS findings demonstrate that the Multiculturalist Inclusive racial identity attitude received a greater degree of endorsement than the racial identity attitudes of Afrocentricity, Anti-White, Self-Hatred, Miseducation, or Assimilation.

a) *Multiculturalist Inclusive attitude mothers will transmit messages using exposure strategies more than other mode of transmission.* This hypothesis was not supported. Crosstabulations demonstrated that the only transmission mode that was significantly associated with the Multiculturalist Inclusive attitude was that of verbal communication. None of the other modalities were statistically significant.

H_3. *Mothers reflecting the Afrocentricity attitude will significantly identify more events/episodes of daughter's behavior deemed incongruous with the daughter's racial identity than mothers reflecting any other CRIS attitude.* Support for this hypothesis was found. Using a crosstabulation, a statistically significant positive association between the degree of agreement with the Afrocentricity attitude and reporting whether or not one's daughter did or said anything that made one think she got the wrong message about her racial identity was established.

H_4. *Mothers are more likely to reflect the Internalization stage of the WIAS than any other stage.* This hypothesis was supported. The WIAS-R findings demonstrate that the Internalization stage received a greater degree of agreement than the stages of Immersion-Emersion, Encounter, or Pre-Encounter.

a) *There will be positive associations between CRIS attitudes and WIAS stages.* This sub-hypothesis was partially supported. A one-tailed correlation was conducted to determine the relationships between CRIS racial identity attitudes and WIAS-R womanist identity stages. Positive and negative relationships were exhibited between the six CRIS attitudes and the four WIAS-R stages. Statistically significant positive and negative correlations were found and discussed in Chapter 4.

Findings

Based on the results discussed in earlier chapters, the strategies African American mothers use to promote a positive racial identity in their elementary-age daughters attending predominantly white schools revealed many dynamics. This research involved examining the processes of parental racial socialization, parental racial identity development and parental

gender identity development. Some important findings were realized: a black-female identity is central to mothers' self-concepts and to the racial socialization of their daughters; mothers engage in racial socialization almost 1.5 times greater than in previously published reports; consistent with the extant literature mothers strongly agree with, and subsequently endorse, the Cultural Pride & Cultural Legacy messages (Cultural Socialization). However, mothers transmit messages around Interracial Coping and Racial & Religious Coping with Antagonism much more frequently; Internalized Racism messages were the least likely message to be transmitted or to be endorsed; the majority of racial socialization messages are transmitted to daughters using modeling; mother's racial identity attitude can predict degree of endorsement of racial socialization messages; the emergence of an Intersectional Status message type; motherwork strategies are used by mothers to advocate for their daughters and to promote the development of a positive racial-gender identity; and mothers are determined to balance normative and alternative gender roles for daughters within and between white spaces & the black community. The ensuing pages will discuss these findings and others, while situating them within the sociopsychological framework.

Racial-gender identity. At the outset I knew of the relevance of intersecting social locations, particularly those of race and gender. However, what I did not fully realize was just how central a racial-gender identity was for these mothers and how it repeatedly served as a focal point as they racially socialized their daughters. Any future examinations of the identity development of black girls/women which treats race and gender as separate entities is inadequate, thus throughout this work I have come to use the label racial-gender identity. It is because of this undertaking that I have come to conceive of black and female as black-female; my thinking about racial identity development and gender identity development concerning

black females has evolved as a result of this project. The centrality of a black-female identity for these mothers has been quite remarkable. Throughout this process mothers spoke of being a black woman raising black girls. Not a woman who is black or black who is a woman, but a black woman. The existence of a multidimensional, virtually inextricable black-female identity has become a stark realization for me. Initially, I knew the importance of the interplay of race and gender for young black girls educated in schools which reflect dominant notions of race and gender. When people would inquire about my research and inevitably ask why I chose to focus on girls and not boys, my response always included recognition of the American standard of beauty, prevailing narratives around femininity, and black women's historic juxtaposition as outsiders-within. The dominant view in America of what is feminine and beautiful, thus desirable, directly contradicts the black female reality; yet, young black girls are expected to grow and thrive in a society that devalues their phenotypic traits, insults their egalitarian gender-identity, and undermines their positions within the black community and within racialized spaces. Against such odds, how do black girls develop into courageous, whole and intact women with strong self-concepts and sense of purpose? I believe part of this success has to do with the idea of a black-female identity, a notion alluded to by Collins (2000, 2009) when she writes "not only does a self-defined, group-derived Black women's standpoint exist, but [its] presence has been essential to U. S. Black women's survival" (p. 109). My acknowledgement of the centrality of a racial-gender identity grew out of what the mothers participating in this study shared in the focus groups and what was present or absent from the quantitative results. My revelation should serve as a reminder to all researchers studying communities that reflect themselves: be critical of your own preconceived notions and always approach the research with an open mind.

What mothers shared about their racial-gender identity is that it is a salient feature of their total being (See Chapter 5). It is an identity informed by early childhood experiences, by their perceptions of their own mothers, and the words and deeds of their fathers and grandmothers. A strong black-female identity is one they overwhelming seek to foster in their own young daughters. That is, developing a healthy racial-gender identity in their daughters is a crucially important strategy used by these mothers. Mothers' acknowledgement of their daughter's double-minority status within predominantly white schools—and their own experiences as black females in private and public spheres—necessitates the socialization to this evolved, multidimensional identity.

Racial socialization messages. One major finding from this project is that mothers in this study reported higher rates of racial socialization in comparison to existing studies (see Chapter 4). Ninety percent of mothers in this study reported transmitting the message that "You should be proud to be Black" and 87% of mothers reported receiving the message "You should be proud to be Black." That these mothers engage in racial socialization almost 1.5 times greater than what has been found in previously reported studies (e.g., Lesane-Brown, 2006) suggests that the predominantly white school setting may be an influential trigger for intensified parental racial socialization. By default, then, this study may infer how capital gains for many black Detroiters contributes to the changing racial landscapes of the surrounding suburban communities, and intensifies African American mothers' racial socialization practices. A singular examination, instead of an intersectional one, would surely not have generated these same results. Had I only examined black parents without regard for gender, class, or geography, I may have not detected such a nuanced difference in the socialization rates.

The most frequently transmitted racial socialization message types were of Interracial Coping and Racial & Religious Coping with Antagonism; however, the message types that were most strongly endorsed were those of Cultural Pride and Cultural Legacy. What this demonstrates is that consistent with the extant literature mothers strongly agree with, and subsequently endorse, the Cultural Pride & Cultural Legacy messages (Cultural Socialization) when socializing their daughters. However, what has been missed from previous scholarship is that in these predominantly white communities—although the level of endorsement is lower—mothers transmit messages around Interracial Coping and Racial & Religious Coping with Antagonism much more frequently because they acknowledge that living and attending school as a young black girl means daughters must be prepared to manage interracial relationships and effectively cope with the bias they will inevitably face. Again, an advantage of an intersectional analysis is that these within-group differences can be revealed and more nuanced understandings of these phenomena can take hold.

Another important finding is that Internalized Racism messages were the least likely message to be transmitted or to be endorsed by mothers (See Chapter 4). According to Bryant (2011, p. 692), "[i]nternalized racism for African Americans involves the acceptance of the hegemonic hierarchal stratification of race that places them at the bottom of the order. It is also the acceptance of negative stereotypes about African Americans concerning their abilities and intrinsic worth." Internalized Racism messages can have a debilitating effect on its recipients. That mothers received such messages but do not transmit them demonstrates an awareness of the destructive nature of such messages and an acknowledgement that to be healthy and whole African Americans must transcend internalized racial oppression. This taken in tandem with the result that the most frequently transmitted racial socialization messages were of Interracial

Coping and Racial & Religious Coping with Antagonism, yet Cultural Pride and Cultural Legacy message types were the most strongly endorsed bolsters my contention that mothers are supremely cognizant of the communities within which they are rearing and educating their daughters and how to best navigate potentially difficult terrain. This is an example of how agentic mothers are in reshaping the dominant social reality by chipping away at oppressive constructions for the benefit of their daughters and others (Dill & Zambrana, 2009).

It is also significant that the majority of racial socialization messages are transmitted to daughters using modeling. The Parent-CARES finding that mothers demonstrate behavior to be imitated—whether deliberately or inadvertently—is consistent with the social-cognitive learning theory and ideas about gendered socialization. Mothers are socializing their daughters for survival (Collins, 2000/2009). This socialization requires striking a delicate balance between acquiring a strong sense of self and self-definition (emotional survival) while challenging oppression (physical survival). Mothers show daughters how to engage in appropriate and desirable behavior, as a way to thwart possible psychic and/or physical injury. This fundamentally represents Bandura's triadic reciprocal causation (Bussey & Bandura, 1999). As such, modeling is a very important strategy used by mothers in this study to deliberately transmit the desired racial socialization messages.

Another finding is that mother's own racial identity attitude can predict their degree of endorsement of various racial socialization messages. Only two other studies were found which examine predictive relationships between parents' racial identities and the socialization strategies used by black parents. The first study relied upon African American parents living in a mid-Southern state (Thomas & Speight, 1999). Thomas and Speight found internalization attitudes (as measured by the Parham & Helms' Racial Identity Attitudes Scale, 1981) to be the only

significant variable included in a predictor model of racial socialization scores (as measured by the Racial and Social Awareness subscale of the Black Parental Attitude Scale, 1980). The second study reported on Black Canadian parents, primarily Caribbean immigrants (Lalonde, Jones, & Stroink, 2008). Lalonde, Jones, & Stroink found varying predictive relationships between dimensions of the MIBI (Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity, 1998) and the racial socialization messages of cultural socialization, preparation for bias, and frequency of race talk (which is comparable to the Parent-CARES subscale of Interracial Coping) as measured by a questionnaire created by the authors of the study. In the current study the independent variables of Assimilation, Miseducation, Afrocentricity, Self-Hatred, Anti-White, and Multiculturalist Inclusive racial attitudes of the Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS) were entered into a regression equation to determine a predictor model for degree of endorsement of racial socialization messages as measured by the Parent-CARES. It was found that mother's CRIS racial identity attitudes can predict the degree of endorsement for the Cultural Legacy, Cultural Pride, Racial & Religious Coping with Antagonism, and Interracial Coping Parent-CARES racial socialization subscales. No predictive relationships were established for the Alertness to Racism or Internalized Racism racial socialization subscales. What these findings demonstrate is that when we know mothers' scores on particular CRIS subscales we can predict the level of endorsement of all Parent-CARES racial socialization messages, except for Alertness to Racism and Internalized Racism. Essentially, we know that mothers are more likely to teach their daughters about their racial history, traditions, and customs when mothers agree with Afrocentric sentiments and principles, while disagreeing with the notion that all cultural groups are similar.

Perhaps the most striking development was the emergence of an Intersectional Status message which mothers reported receiving and transmitting to their daughters as part of their

racial socialization experiences (see Chapter 6). It appears that mothers rearing and educating their daughters in predominantly white communities find it particularly important to transmit messages regarding living and exceling in America as a black female. This is an immensely important strategy used by the mothers. For these mothers, being a black female means recognizing one's intellect, beauty, and possessing self-love in the face of racism and sexism—in a manner, transforming hegemonic power by eschewing commonly-held perceptions about black girls (Dill & Zambrana, 2009). It also means acquiring an independent streak in order to engage in collectivist acts that support and nurture one's racial community. Mothers are modeling the language and behavior they wish for their daughters to imitate, just as their mothers did for them. Principally, these mothers are "empower[ing] their daughters by passing on the everyday knowledge essential to survival as African-American women" (Collins, 2009, p. 112). The existing body of parental socialization literature does not mention Intersectional Status messages being reported by parents or their children because the instruments measuring racial socialization messages have not yet taken this type of message into consideration. The presence of this particular message type demonstrates the necessity of expanding the operationalization of racial socialization practices and pursuing a research agenda dedicated to understanding black-female identity development.

Motherwork strategies. One surprising finding was the set of strategies used by mothers to advocate for their daughters and to promote the development of a positive racial-gender identity. This particular set of strategies which mothers employed represents one dimension of Patricia Hill Collins' motherwork phenomenon. Motherwork is the "reproductive labor" that women of color engage in to ensure the survival of family, community, and self (Collins, 1994). The three strategies mothers use are Presence, Imaging, and Code-switching.

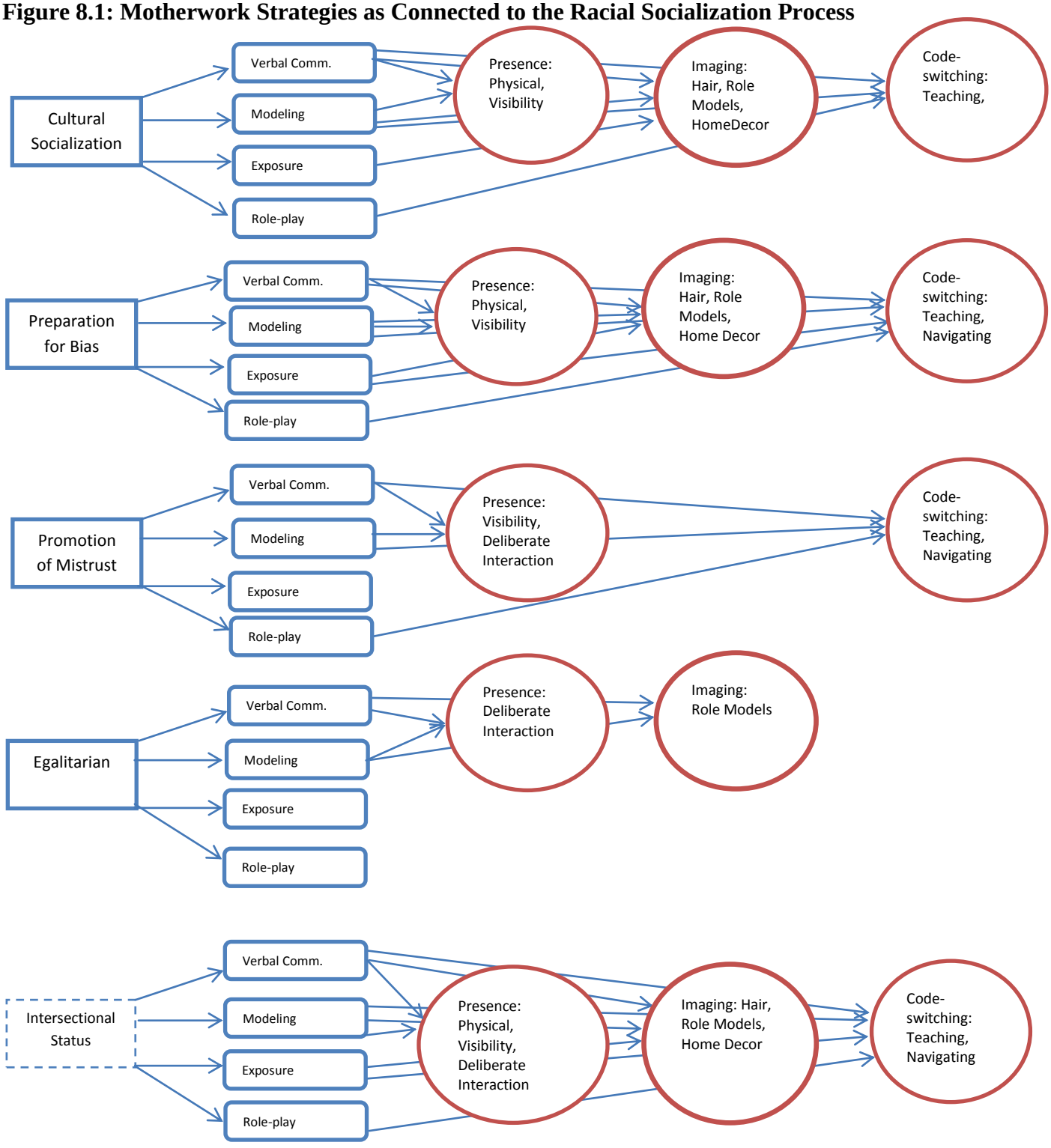
The motherwork that these women engage in is embedded in the racial socialization process (see Figure 8.1 for a visual representation). It is extra work that is multilayered, emotional, stressful, and race-gender based in the context of white spaces. It is racial/gender socialization that is deliberate, purposeful and consuming. In particular the activation of the Presence strategy is fundamentally different than reported elsewhere. For instance, Lareau (2002) found that higher-income parents, irrespective of race, engage in behavior mimicking the Presence-visibility and Presence-deliberate interactions strategies uncovered in this study. Laureau writes that "[t]he role of race in children's daily lives was less powerful than I had expected . . . in terms of. . .the strategies used for intervening in institutions [i.e., schools] *white and black middle-class parents engaged in very similar, often identical, practices with their children*" [my emphasis] (2002, p. 773). My findings challenge Laureau's race-neutral conclusion. For the mothers in this study race-gender identity is quite salient and it underpins the motherwork strategies they use. Mothers in this study do socialization work white mothers in the same setting do not do; motherwork is diametrically opposed to white privilege. The impetus for activation f these strategies is race-based not class-based. Motherwork strategies may be pivotal to answering the question how will parents promote a healthy, positive racial-gender identity in their children while navigating a social institution which perpetuates the racial order?

Another striking finding associated with the motherwork strategies was a conscientious determination to balance normative and alternative gender roles as mothers racially socialized their daughters. It was quite clear that mothers were aware of prevailing narratives surrounding what is considered appropriate femininity. Females (as exemplified by white, non-Hispanic, class-privileged, gender norms in the U.S.) are to be quiet, reserved, dainty, and deferential. To be female is to exemplify the cult of true womanhood (Welter, 1966); it is normative (even if the

majority of white American females realistically do not fit this mold). However, for young African American girls to excel in predominantly white spaces they cannot be a shrinking violet; they must be strong, independent, self-assured, and self-protective. Such alternative gender role expectations lead to accusations of being loud, emasculating, domineering, and bitchy, mammies and sapphires.[11] Thus these young black women are imagined/portrayed as being deficient because of possessing "masculine" qualities and of being the crux of what causes "black family dysfunction" according to Daniel Patrick Moynihan (1965) and others (see Nathan Glazer, 1975). Mothers work hard to help girls deconstruct these portrayals in white spaces and also help girls actively balance conflicting gender expectations in the black community. In order to be a caretaker of the community, they must be strong, assertive, and independent and do it all, what is sometimes called the black woman's burden. Some black men characterize these as good qualities in their mothers but hold in contempt the average black female who dares do it all and who supposedly relegates her male partner to being an accessory not a necessity. Additionally, to uplift the race the black female must be the backbone of the community—the strength. Simultaneously she is to be in the background, leaving the political and public front lines for black men. Mothers know that they must help their daughters successfully balance and navigate the conflicting normative and alternative gender role expectations they will inevitably face within white spaces and the black community. Helping daughters balance conflicting gender role expectations is a tactic mothers weave throughout the motherwork strategies.

[11] See Carolyn M. West (1995) for a discussion of these images.

Figure 8.1: Motherwork Strategies as Connected to the Racial Socialization Process



Contributions

Findings from this study contribute to the scholarship on parental racial socialization. This study highlights differences in the rates at which suburban, middle-class African American mothers with elementary-age daughters attending predominantly white schools are racially socialized and socialize when compared to the African American population as a whole. Therefore our knowledge of within-group differences has been augmented. These mothers endorse Cultural Socialization messages—consistent with previous studies delineating African American parental racial socialization as a gendered process—yet more frequently transmit messages reflecting Preparation for Bias and Promotion of Mistrust than has been previously found. Additionally, the modeling transmission mode is most frequently used by mothers in this study. Finally, what we know about types of racial socialization messages received and transmitted by mothers has been greatly expanded. The emergence of an Intersectional Status message type, both received and transmitted, is a critically important finding. It undergirds and amplifies the notion that racial socialization is simultaneously a racialized and gendered process. Mothers are deliberately transmitting messages about a unique racial-gender status. Findings from this study also hint that the degree of racial socialization is impacted by class in that my findings on middle-class African American mothers do not align with existing findings on racial socialization within lower-income, urban African American communities.

The salience of a racial-gender identity in this study indicates the importance of adding fresh nodes to the current racial identity and gender identity development literatures. Although theories about black-female consciousness exist (e.g., Black Feminist Standpoint Theory), research has not yet operationalized black-female identity development. Consequently, there are no existing instruments that specifically attempt to measure black-female identity development.

Findings from this study will hopefully spur on a black-female identity development research agenda.

Findings from this study contribute to the motherwork literature as well. African American motherwork expresses agency, resistance, and empowerment. It can be physically, emotionally, and psychologically taxing. It requires these mothers to negotiate white spaces; deconstruct the caricature of the black woman/black mother through presentations of themselves and their daughters; and belie their authentic self, in the face of innumerable microaggressions, while simultaneously caring for family and community. Furthermore, it has been established that a common refrain threads the motherwork strategies of Presence, Imaging, and Code-switching—the balancing of normative and alternative gender role expectations. Mothers are training their daughters how to navigate conflicting gender role expectations within and between two disparate domains: white spaces and the black community. In white spaces, such as a predominantly white school, mothers model for their daughters the behavior/skills they consider necessary for their daughters to excel.

The various strategies examined and discussed in this work contribute to the social foundations of education and school-family-community literatures. Supporting the academic and social success of young African American girls attending predominantly white schools will necessitate strong school-family-community relations. Such relationships can be fostered, informed, and strengthened by what this study has contributed to our understanding of the processes of parental racial socialization, racial-gender identity development, and the motherwork phenomenon. If we are to ensure the academic success of African American children we have to situate their educational experiences within the context of institutional and structural racism while centering their voices and the voices of their parents.

Limitations

There are several limitations to this study. One limitation to this study is that the sample is self-selected and non-random. Those who volunteered to participate in this investigation may have done so because they were more interested in racial issues and therefore this study may be impacted by selection bias. Another limitation is that the findings from this study cannot be used to make judgments about mothers of children attending predominantly black schools. However, comparisons may be made within the sample by looking at differences among various school districts represented and their percentage of African American students (e.g. 1% versus 10%), mothers with multiple children versus single children, etc.; these comparisons have not been made within this dissertation due to time and space constraints. Other limitations of the study are related to issues of measurement. For instance, the investigation relied on participants' self-reports of racial socialization messages, daughter's GPA, etc. One difficulty with the self-report measure of racial socialization messages is that parents may have responded to messages that they could easily recall. Parents' responses may also have been impacted by social desirability. This study was constructed to look at mothers only and therefore is narrow in scope. The assertions made about daughters, predominantly white schools, and predominantly white communities are predicated upon what the mothers reported via their survey responses and/or the conversations that occurred during the focus groups.

Implications for Children, Parents, School Districts, and Educational Policy

The results from this study have many implications. Parental racial socialization is foundational to children's academic success: "socialization to ethnicity and race increases Black youth's academic performance by confirming their ethnic/racial self-schemas, bonding them to other Blacks, and emphasizing perseverance as a strategy" (Brown, Tanner-Smith, Lesane-

Brown, 2009, p. 387). Although this study is situated within the context of suburban Detroit, there is potential applicability to other metropolitan areas like Detroit (i.e., those with stark urban/suburban divide with a history of residential segregation, former industrial centers now aging and losing black residents to the surrounding predominantly white suburbs, etc.). As predominantly white school districts increase their African American populations, this study and its findings, particularly regarding motherwork, are critically important. Especially as we exist during a period that many Americans would label "post-racial" or "colorblind." Nevertheless, such labels are far from truly capturing the lived experiences of many persons of color. Bonilla-Silva (2011) informs us that these labels reflect color-blind racism; racism that is subtle, negating institutional and structural racial inequality while advancing cultural deficiency and market-force explanations for the existing racial disparities. These colorblind ideologies are at work in public school systems across this country. According to Camille Cooper, these ideologies "compel educators to avoid understanding white privilege, remain unaware to the prevalence and/or effects of discriminatory practices, and perpetuate inequities that directly harm African American families and others" (2010, p. 343). Not only must mothers equip their daughters with tools to survive and excel in white spaces and within the African American community, they must do so while helping their girls navigate real, perceived, and invisible threats. The strategies presented here seem to be powerful ways that mothers of elementary-age daughters attending a predominantly white school engage in motherwork to ensure the survival of their biological daughters, community daughters, and the African American community as a whole. Better understanding of the processes of parental racial socialization (including the motherwork strategies) and its influence on a child's development of a racial-gender identity may be crucial to effectively addressing and closing the black-white achievement gap. School districts, teacher

training programs, and action plans seeking to eradicate the achievement gap will be well-served by understanding the processes of racial socialization and racial-gender identity development—which take place within social institutions and structures that perpetuate the racial order—and by training culturally competent educators while adopting culturally competent curricula which affirms the racial-gender self-concepts of African American children.

The effect of mothers' racial identity attitudes on racial socialization message endorsement means that parent support groups and schools can use this information to foster the academic and social success of young black girls attending predominantly white schools. School-family-community partnerships could devise programs which assist mothers to more effectively transmit desired messages. By measuring mothers' racial identity attitudes we could predict the messages that they are predisposed to transmit and strategies could be created to help mothers hone in on messages which they are less likely to transmit. Parent groups and schools could work together to nurture an environment supportive of the racial socialization of young daughters; an atmosphere attuned to the mothers' socialization practices and that makes use of the predictive models as a means for strengthening these practices. Such an endeavor is important because—consistent with the extant scholarship—we know that racial socialization increases African American student achievement.

From what has been found in this study, it appears that schools could capitalize on mothers' agency and involvement. Mothers are working extremely hard to ensure the academic success of their daughters by being actively involved in their schools. A case can be made for the positive impact of racial socialization on the academic performance of the daughters of these mothers as over 81% of mothers surveyed report their daughter's GPA as 3.5 or above. Schools should reach out to these mothers by asking them to help better the school culture/climate by

making it more inclusive, encourage more African American parents to become involved, and identify the ways schools can better support the motherwork that African American mothers are already doing. Essentially, the school should regard motherwork as one of its greatest resources. Additionally, schools could learn several lessons from the mothers participating in this study:

1. Understand that these strategies can strengthen the home-school environment by building partnerships. Make the classroom/school a welcoming space, know that mothers are present as advocates, not to "stir up trouble" or intimidate school personnel (which are stereotypical images).
2. The importance of (providing) role models; mothers notice the lack of role models interacting with their daughters on a daily basis. Affirm the need for more African American and male teachers in non-stereotypical roles (e.g., as the gym teacher). Realize the significance and necessity of parents and children involving themselves in racially- and culturally-specific organizations. They provide important connections that are not readily available in predominantly white communities.
3. Seek to establish African American parent networks/associations within the schools and/or districts. Several mothers advocating for their daughters seem to have benefitted from the presence of a functioning parent network/association.

Directions for Future Research

The scope of this research was narrow in that it focused on mothers only. It is important to elucidate the bidirectional nature of the racial socialization process by investigating the daughters and interviewing mother-daughter dyads. Daughters' identities and responses to socialization are important avenues for future research. Whether daughters end up with positive racial-gender identities after mothers' socialization is also something that needs further

elucidation. Also, it is quite important to investigate class effects by looking at the strategies used by lower-income, suburban African American mothers with children attending predominantly white schools. In this study, mothers' abilities to exercise agency and resistance were aided by resources and skill sets they had acquired as a result of their educational attainment, career/vocational experiences, and social networks. Although the impetus for employing the motherwork strategies was racial-gender, it is apparent that efficacy was enhanced by various elements of social and/or cultural capital. Therefore, to more fully appreciate within-group differences in racial socialization practices, the class construct has to be examined further.

Lastly, outlining the mechanics of motherwork and its toll on African American mothers is quite necessary. The recent racial microaggressions literature (see Torres, Driscoll, & Burrow, 2010; Sue, Capodilupo, & Holder, 2008; Solorzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000) informs us that race-related stressors (such as engaging in motherwork strategies) likely increase perceived stress and play a role in mental health problems (Carter, 2007; Williams, Neighbors, & Jackson, 2003; Clark, Anderson, Clark, & Williams, 1999). Therefore, these mothers are likely to experience negative physiological and psychological effects from the motherwork that they engage in, work that they feel is critical to ensuring the academic, social, and emotional success of their daughters. It is important to explore how these mothers' daily, micro-level interactions impact their physical and psychological well-being, influence their racial socialization practices and thus effect their daughters' racial identity development. Arline Geronimus' *Weathering Hypothesis* may provide the framework needed to more fully explore the physiological and psychological effects of motherwork. Geronimus contends that blacks, black women in particular, "may be biologically older than whites of the same chronological age due to the cumulative impact of repeated exposure to and high-effort coping with stressors" (Geronimus, Hicken, Pearson,

Seashols, Brown, & Cruz, 2010, p. 20). I believe the stressors that mothers encounter as they engage in motherwork may have an aging effect on biological systems leading to susceptibility to acute illnesses and disease. This has the potential to "compromise [mothers'] ability to invest in or buffer their children from risk through the development of secure attachments, with potentially lifelong implications" (Geronimus et al. 2010). Explorations connecting motherwork, racial microaggressions, and the Weathering Hypothesis should be performed. Lastly, focusing on the operationalization of a black-female identity development model and the creation of an instrument that can comprehensively measure black-female identity is an important next step.

Each of the abovementioned steps will help to advance our knowledge regarding parental racial socialization, racial-gender identity development, and the motherwork phenomenon. Now we can truly appreciate what Rita meant when she said, "I can't just turn over my daughter and let it be, trusting that she'll be all right." African American mothers with elementary-age daughters attending predominantly white schools must move heaven and earth to promote a positive racial-gender identity in their girls and to advocate for their emotional, physical, social, and academic well-being.

APPENDIX A
The Survey Instruments

SECTION 1: We would like to know a few things about you and your background.

1.Please identify your racial/ethnic background.
How do YOU describe yourself? Check one.

❒ Black/African American ❒ Black/African ❒ Black/Caribbean
❒ Black/Hispanic ❒ Biracial ❒ Multiracial
❒ White ❒ Hispanic ❒ Other _____

How would you describe your mother? Check one.

❒ Black/African American ❒ Black/African ❒ Black/Caribbean
❒ Black/Hispanic ❒ Biracial ❒ Multiracial
❒ White ❒ Hispanic ❒ Other/Don't Know _____

How would you describe your father? Check one.

❒ Black/African American ❒ Black/African ❒ Black/Caribbean
❒ Black/Hispanic ❒ Biracial ❒ Multiracial
❒ White ❒ Hispanic ❒ Other/Don't Know_____

2. What is your gender? **3. How old are you? _____**
❒ Female ❒Male
4. What school does your child attend? _____

5. How many boys or girls are you raising or have raised?

Boys?	❒ 1	❒ 2	❒ 3	❒ 4	❒ 5 or more
Girls?	❒ 1	❒ 2	❒ 3	❒ 4	❒ 5 or more

6. Estimate your household annual income. Check only one.

❒ $0 - $15,000 ❒ $15,001 - $25,000 ❒ $25,001 - $50,000 ❒ $50, 001 - $75,000
❒ $75,001 - $100,000 ❒ $100,001 - $125,000 ❒ $125,001 - $200,000 ❒ $200,001 – above

7. What is your marital status? Check only one.

❒ Never Married ❒ Married ❒ Separated
❒ Divorced ❒ Widowed How long?

8. Have you had any experiences of racist acts against you?
❒ Yes ❒ No
9. If yes, where did this incident occur? Check all that apply.
❒ My neighborhood ❒ My school ❒ With family or at home
❒ Public places (mall, supermarket, park) ❒ Work

10. Has your family or any members of your family had any experiences of racist acts against them?
❒ Yes ❒ No ❒ Don't Know

11. How much do you talk to your children about racism and discrimination against Black people?
❒ Not much ❒ A little ❒ Somewhat ❒ A lot ❒ All of the time

12. How safe do you feel living on your block?
❒ Not at all safe ❒ A little safe ❒ Somewhat safe ❒ Safe ❒ Very safe

13. What religious affiliation do you hold? _____
a. How often do you attend religious services?
❒ Not at all ❒ A little ❒ Somewhat ❒ A lot ❒ All of the time

b. How important is your religion to you?
❒ Not important ❒ A little ❒ Somewhat ❒ Very important ❒ Extremely

14. What is the highest level of education that your parents/guardians COMPLETED?
Mother/Guardian's Education?
❒ Middle School ❒ High School ❒ Vocational/Technical School
❒ Community College/Associates Degree ❒ College/Bachelors Degree ❒ Advanced Degree (ex. MD, MA, JD)

Father/Guardian's Education
❒ Middle School ❒ High School ❒ Vocational/Technical School
❒ Community College/Associate's Degree ❒ College/Bachelors Degree ❒ Advanced Degree (ex. MD, MA, JD)

15. What is the highest level of education that you have COMPLETED?
❒ Middle School ❒ High School ❒ Vocational/Technical School
❒ Community College/Associates Degree ❒ College/Bachelors Degree ❒ Advanced Degree (ex. MD, MA, JD)

16. Estimate your family's annual income.
❒ $0 - $15,000 ❒ $15,001 - $25,000 ❒ $25,001 - $50,000 ❒ $50, 001 - $75,000
❒ $75,001 - $100,000 ❒ $100,001 - $125,000 ❒ $125,001 - $200,000 ❒ $200,001 – above

What is the race/ethnicity of the people you are around the most? Estimate the percentage of each racial/ethnic group. Mark "0" if a particular race is not included. The total must equal 100.

17. Please *estimate* what percentage of your neighbors are (must total 100)

_____ Black/African American _____ Black/Caribbean _____ Black/African _____ White
_____ Asian/Pacific Islander _____ Hispanic _____ Other

18. Please *estimate* what percentage of the students at your child's school are (must total 100)

_____ Black/African American _____ Black/Caribbean _____ Black/African _____ White
_____ Asian/Pacific Islander _____ Hispanic _____ Other

19. Please *estimate* what percentage of the teachers at your child's school are (must total 100)

_____ Black/African American _____ Black/Caribbean _____ Black/African _____ White
_____ Asian/Pacific Islander _____ Hispanic _____ Other

20. Please *estimate* what percentage of the people YOU call friends are (must total 100)

_____ Black/African American _____ Black/Caribbean _____ Black/African _____ White
_____ Asian/Pacific Islander _____ Hispanic _____ Other

21. Please *estimate* what percentage of the people YOUR CHILD hangs out with the most are (must total 100)

_____ Black/African American _____ Black/Caribbean _____ Black/African _____ White
_____ Asian/Pacific Islander _____ Hispanic _____ Other

22. Has your child had any experiences of racist acts against him/her?

❒ No ❒ Yes

23. If yes, where did this incident occur? Check all that apply.

❒ My neighborhood ❒ My school ❒ With family or at home
❒ Public places (mall, supermarket, park) ❒ Work

24. Has your family or any members of your family had any experiences of racist acts against them?

❒ Don't Know ❒ No ❒ Yes

25. How much did your parents talk to you about racism and discrimination against Black people when you were young?

❒ Not at all ❒ A little ❒ Somewhat ❒ A lot ❒ All of the time

26. How safe do you feel living on your block?

❒ Not at all safe ❒ A little safe ❒ Somewhat safe ❒ Safe ❒ Very safe

27. Which varsity sports did you play in high school? (Check all that apply)

❒ I do not play any varsity sports. ❒ Baseball ❒ Basketball ❒ Field Hockey
❒ Football ❒ Lacrosse ❒ Soccer ❒ Softball
❒ Swimming ❒ Tennis ❒ Track & Field ❒ Volleyball
❒ Water Polo ❒ Other

28. I participated in the following extracurricular activities when I was in high school. (Check all that apply)

❒ I do not participate in extracurricular activities. ❒ Band ❒ Chess Club ❒ Choir
❒ Cultural Clubs (ex. Black Student Union, Latino Student Association) ❒ Debate Team ❒ Drama ❒ Intramural Sports
❒ Political organizations ❒ Student Government ❒ Other

29. Based on a 4.0 scale, what kind of grades did you get when you were in high school?

❒ Lower than 2.00 (Mostly D's) ❒ 2.00 – 2.49 (Mostly C's, a few D's) ❒ 2.50 – 2.74 (Mostly C's)
❒ 2.75 – 2.99 (Mostly B's & a few C's) ❒ 3.00 – 3.24 (Mostly B's) ❒ 3.25 – 3.49 (Mostly B's, a few A's)
❒ 3.50 – 3.74 (A's & B's) ❒ 3.75 – 3.99 (Mostly A's) ❒ 4.00 or Higher (All A's)

30. What is the highest level of education you would like to attain?

❒ High School Diploma ❒ Vocational Certificate ❒ Some College
❒ Community College/Associate of Arts (AA) ❒ College/University Degree ❒ Graduate or Professional Degree

34. How would you describe your family's socioeconomic status?

❒ Poor ❒ Working class ❒ Middle class ❒ Upper Middle ❒ Wealthy

SECTION 2: Do you say any of the following statements to your children? Were you told these statements when you were growing up? Let us know how often you remember telling or hearing any of these messages. Do you feel that you would give these statements to sons more, the same for both, or to daughters more, or if you would not give this message at all. Thank you.

		How often do you tell your <u>daughter</u> this?			How do you convey this message				Different for sons or daughters?				How often were <u>YOU</u> told this when you were growing up?		
		Never	A Few Times	Lots of Times	Show	Role-play	Tell	Expose through events/trips etc	Sons More	Same for Both	Daughters More	I would not give this message at all	Never	A Few Times	Lots of Times
1.	**You should be proud to be Black.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
2.	**You need to learn how to live in a White world and a Black world.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
3.	**When Black people make money, they try to forget they are Black.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
4.	**Schools should be required to teach all children about Black history.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
5.	**You can't trust Black people who act too friendly with White people.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
6.	**It's important to remember the experience of Black slavery.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
7.	**"Don't forget who your people are because you may need them someday."**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
8.	**Sometimes you have to look and act more like White people to get ahead in America.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
9.	**Living in an all Black neighborhood is no way to show that you are successful.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3

		How often do you tell your <u>daughter</u> this?			How do you convey this message				Different for sons or daughters?				How often were <u>YOU</u> told this when you were growing up?		
		Never	A Few Times	Lots of Times	Show	Role-play	Tell	Expose through events/trips etc	Sons More	Same for Both	Daughters More	I would not give this message at all	Never	A Few Times	Lots of Times
10.	**Since the world has become so multicultural, it's wrong to only focus on Black issues.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
11.	**Racism is real, and you have to understand it or it will hurt you.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
12.	**Teachers can help Black children grow by showing signs of Black culture in the classroom.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
13.	**Black children will learn more if they go to a mostly white school.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
14.	**You really can't trust most White people.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
15.	**Fitting into school or work means swallowing your anger when you see racism.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
16.	**Poor Black people are always looking for a hand out.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
17.	**Going to a Black school will help Black children feel better about themselves.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
18.	**You have to watch what you say in front of White people.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
19.	**A belief in God can help a person deal with tough life struggles.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3

		How often do you tell your <u>daughter</u> this?			How do you convey this message				Different for sons or daughters?				How often were <u>YOU</u> told this when you were growing up?		
		Never	A Few Times	Lots of Times	Show	Role-play	Tell	Expose through events/trips etc	Sons More	Same for Both	Daughters More	I would not give this message at all	Never	A Few Times	Lots of Times
20.	**Knowing your African heritage is important for the survival of Black people.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
21.	**Children need signs of Black art and music in their home to feel good about themselves.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
22.	**You have to work twice as hard as whites in order to get ahead in this world.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
23.	**Sometimes you have to correct Whites when they make racist statements about Black people.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
24.	**Spiritual battles that people fight are more important than the physical battles.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
25.	**To be Black is to be connected to a history that goes back to African royalty.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
26.	**It is important to go to Black festivals and African American History Museums.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
27.	**You can learn a lot from being around important White people.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
28.	**Whites make it hard for people to get ahead in this world.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3

		How often do you tell your <u>daughter</u> this?			How do you convey this message				Different for sons or daughters?				How often were <u>YOU</u> told this when you were growing up?		
		Never	A Few Times	Lots of Times	Show	Role-play	Tell	Expose through events/trips etc	Sons More	Same for Both	Daughters More	I would not give this message at all	Never	A Few Times	Lots of Times
29.	**Racism is not as bad today as it used to be.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
30.	**You should just ignore people that make racist comments.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
31.	**Life is easier for light-skinned Black people than it is for dark-skinned Black people.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
32.	**"Train up a child in the way he should go, and he will not turn away from it."**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
33.	**You should learn more about Black history so that you can prevent people from treating you unfairly.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
34.	**Black people have to work together in order to get ahead**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
35.	**Whites have more opportunities than Blacks.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
36.	**You should speak up when someone says something that is racist.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
37.	**Some Black people are just born with good hair.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
38.	**Black children should be taught early that God can protect them from racial hatred.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
39.	**Black slavery has affected how Black people live today.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3

		How often do you tell your <u>daughter</u> this?			How do you convey this message				Different for sons or daughters?				How often were <u>YOU</u> told this when you were growing up?		
		Never	A Few Times	Lots of Times	Show	Role-play	Tell	Expose through events/trips etc	Sons More	Same for Both	Daughters More	I would not give this message at all	Never	A Few Times	Lots of Times
40.	**Black people are their own worst enemy.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
41.	**Black youth are harassed by police just because they are Black.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
42.	**Black people are just not as smart as White people in Math and Science.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
43.	**More jobs would be open to African Americans if employers were not racist.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
44.	**America built its wealth off the backs of slaves.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
45.	**Sports are the only way for Black kids to get out of the hood.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
46.	**Sometimes you have to make yourself less threatening to make White people around you comfortable.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
47.	**Light skinned Blacks think they are better than dark-skinned Black people.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
48.	**Black men just want sex.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
49.	**African and Caribbean people think they are better than Black Americans.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3

		How often do you tell your <u>daughter</u> this?			How do you convey this message				Different for sons or daughters?				How often were <u>YOU</u> told this when you were growing up?		
		Never	A Few Times	Lots of Times	Show	Role-play	Tell	Expose through events/trips etc	Sons More	Same for Both	Daughters More	I would not give this message at all	Never	A Few Times	Lots of Times
50.	**Black women keep the family strong.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
51.	**Good Black men are the backbone of a strong family.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
52.	**Black women just want money.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3
53.	**Africans and Caribbean people get along with Black Americans.**	1	2	3	S	R	T	E	S	B	D	N	1	2	3

SECTION 3: Write down the numbers (from SECTION 2) of the top 5 messages that were the most stressful/difficult for you to discuss with your child?
Most Stressful/Difficult Message to Discuss: #1:_____ #2:_____ #3:_____ #4:_____ #5:_____

How stressful is it to talk to your children about race and discrimination?

❒ Not at all stressful ❒ A little stressful ❒ Somewhat stressful ❒ stressful ❒ Very stressful

Were there any messages that someone told you or that you think are important that were not listed above (SECTION 2)? If so, please write them below in the spaces provided.

Message #1: _____
Where did you hear this? (Mark all that apply):
❒ Mother/Guardian ❒ Father/Guardian ❒ Grandparent ❒ Sibling ❒ Teacher/Professor ❒ Other Adult ❒ Friend/Peer
❒ Media (TV, Movies, Internet, Books, etc. . .) ❒ No one told me this

Message #2: _____
Where did you hear this? (Mark all that apply):
❒ Mother/Guardian ❒ Father/Guardian ❒ Grandparent ❒ Sibling ❒ Teacher/Professor ❒ Other Adult ❒ Friend/Peer
❒ Media (TV, Movies, Internet, Books, etc. . .) ❒ No one told me this

Message #3: _____
Where did you hear this? (Mark all that apply):
❒ Mother/Guardian ❒ Father/Guardian ❒ Grandparent ❒ Sibling ❒ Teacher/Professor ❒ Other Adult ❒ Friend/Peer
❒ Media (TV, Movies, Internet, Books, etc. . .) ❒ No one told me this

Has your daughter done or said anything that made you think she got the wrong message about her racial identity?

❒ Don't Know ❒ No ❒ Yes
If yes, please briefly explain the space below.
_____
_____
_____
_____

SECTION 4: CROSS SOCIAL ATTITUDE SCALE

Instructions: Read each item and indicate to what degree it reflects your own thoughts and feelings, using the 7-point scale below. There are no right or wrong answers. Base your responses on your opinion at the present time. To ensure that your answers can be used, please respond to the statements as written, and place your numerical response on the line provided to the left of each question.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree	**Disagree**	**Somewhat disagree**	**Neither agree nor disagree**	**Somewhat agree**	**Agree**	**Strongly agree**

_____ 1. As an African American, life in America is good for me.

_____ 2. I think of myself primarily as an American, and seldom as a member of a racial group.

_____ 3. Too many Blacks "glamorize" the drug trade and fail to see opportunities that don't involve crime.

_____ 4. I go through periods when I am down on myself because I am Black.

_____ 5. As a multiculturalist, I am connected to many groups (Hispanics, Asian-Americans, Whites, Jews, gays & lesbians, etc.).

_____ 6. I have a strong feeling of hatred and disdain for all White people.

_____ 7. I see and think about things from an Afrocentric perspective.

_____ 8. When I walk into a room, I always take note of the racial make-up of the people around me.

_____ 9. I am not so much a member of a racial group, as I am an American.

_____ 10. I sometimes struggle with negative feelings about being Black.

_____ 11. My relationship with God plays an important role in my life.

_____ 12. Blacks place more emphasis on having a good time than on hard work.

_____ 13. I believe that only those Black people who accept an Afrocentric perspective can truly solve the race problem in America.

_____ 14. I hate the White community and all that it represents.

_____ 15. When I have a chance to make a new friend, issues of race and ethnicity seldom play a role in who that person might be.

_____ 16. I believe it is important to have both a Black identity and a multicultural perspective, which is inclusive of everyone (e.g., Asians, Latinos, gays & lesbians, Jews, Whites, etc.).

_____ 17. When I look in the mirror at my Black image, sometimes I do not feel good about what I see.

_____ 18. If I had to put a label on my identity, it would be "American," and not African American.

_____ 19. When I read the newspaper or a magazine, I always look for articles and stories that deal with race and ethnic issues.

_____ 20. Many African Americans are too lazy to see opportunities that are right in front of them.

_____ 21. As far as I am concerned, affirmative action will be needed for a long time.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree	**Disagree**	**Somewhat disagree**	**Neither agree nor disagree**	**Somewhat agree**	**Agree**	**Strongly agree**

_____ 22. Black people cannot truly be free until our daily lives are guided by Afrocentric values and principles.

_____ 23. White people should be destroyed.

_____ 24. I embrace my own Black identity, but I also respect and celebrate the cultural identities of other groups (e.g., Native Americans, Whites, Latinos, Jews, Asian Americans, gays & lesbians, etc.).

_____ 25. Privately, I sometimes have negative feelings about being Black.

_____ 26. If I had to put myself into categories, first I would say I am an American, and second I am a member of a racial group.

_____ 27. My feelings and thoughts about God are very important to me.

_____ 28. African Americans are too quick to turn to crime to solve their problems.

_____ 29. When I have a chance to decorate a room, I tend to select pictures, posters, or works of art that express strong racial-cultural themes.

_____ 30. I hate White people.

_____ 31. I respect the ideas that other Black people hold, but I believe that the best way to solve our problems is to think Afrocentrically.

_____ 32. When I vote in an election, the first thing I think about is the candidate's record on racial and cultural issues.

_____ 33. I believe it is important to have both a Black identity and a multicultural perspective, because this connects me to other groups (Hispanics, Asian-Americans, Whites, Jews, gays & lesbians, etc.).

_____ 34. I have developed an identity that stresses my experiences as an American more than my experiences as a member of a racial group.

_____ 35. During a typical week in my life, I think about racial and cultural issues many, many times.

_____ 36. Blacks place too much importance on racial protest and not enough on hard work and education.

_____ 37. Black people will never be free until we embrace an Afrocentric perspective.

_____ 38. My negative feelings toward White people are very intense.

_____ 39. I sometimes have negative feelings about being Black.

_____ 40. As a multiculturalist, it is important for me to be connected with individuals from all cultural backgrounds (Latinos, gays & lesbians, Jews, Native Americans, Asian-Americans, etc.).

Section 5: **WIAS**

Instructions: This is intended to measure people's social and political attitudes about women and men in society. There are no right or wrong answers. Use the scale below to respond to each statement. In the column next to each item, circle the number that best describes how you feel.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	**Disagree**	**Uncertain**	**Agree**	**Strongly agree**

1.	In general, I believe that men are superior to women.	**1 2 3 4 5**
2.	I limit myself to male activities.	**1 2 3 4 5**
3.	I feel like I am betraying my sex when I take advantage of opportunities available to me in the male world.	**1 2 3 4 5**
4.	I don't know whether being a woman is an asset or a deficit.	**1 2 3 4 5**
5.	I feel unable to involve myself in men's activities, and I am increasing my involvement in activities involving women.	**1 2 3 4 5**
6.	I enjoy being around people regardless of their sex.	**1 2 3 4 5**
7.	Maybe I can learn something from women.	**1 2 3 4 5**
8.	Sometimes I think men are superior and sometimes I think they're inferior to women.	**1 2 3 4 5**
9.	Sometimes I wonder how much of myself I should give up for the sake of helping minorities.	**1 2 3 4 5**
10.	In general, women have not contributed much to American society.	**1 2 3 4 5**
11.	People, regardless of their sex, have strengths and limitations.	**1 2 3 4 5**
12.	I would have accomplished more in this life if I had been born a man.	**1 2 3 4 5**
13.	Sometimes I am proud of belonging to the female sex and sometimes I am ashamed of it.	**1 2 3 4 5**
14.	Sometimes I am embarrassed to be the sex I am.	**1 2 3 4 5**
15.	I am determined to find out more about the female sex.	**1 2 3 4 5**
16.	Being a member of the female sex is a source of pride to me.	**1 2 3 4 5**
17.	I do not think I should feel positively about people just because they belong to the same sexual group as I do.	**1 2 3 4 5**
18.	Most men are insensitive.	**1 2 3 4 5**
19.	Women and men have much to learn from each other.	**1 2 3 4 5**
20.	I am comfortable wherever I am.	**1 2 3 4 5**
21.	I'm not sure how I feel about myself.	**1 2 3 4 5**
22.	Men are more attractive than women.	**1 2 3 4 5**
23.	I feel more comfortable being around men than I do being around women.	**1 2 3 4 5**
24.	I reject all male values.	**1 2 3 4 5**

25.	Men have some customs I enjoy.	**1 2 3 4 5**
26.	Men are difficult to understand.	**1 2 3 4 5**
27.	I believe that being a woman has caused me to have many strengths.	**1 2 3 4 5**
28.	I wonder if I should feel kinship with all minority group people.	**1 2 3 4 5**
29.	Women should learn to think and act like men.	**1 2 3 4 5**
30.	My most important goal in life is to fight the oppression of women.	**1 2 3 4 5**
31.	Thinking about my values and beliefs takes up a lot of my time.	**1 2 3 4 5**
32.	I find myself replacing old friends with new ones who share my beliefs about women.	**1 2 3 4 5**
33.	The burden of living up to society's expectations of women is sometimes more than I can bear.	**1 2 3 4 5**
34.	When I think about how men have treated women, I feel an overwhelming anger.	**1 2 3 4 5**
35.	Both sexual groups have some good people and some bad people.	**1 2 3 4 5**
36.	I feel anxious about some of the things I feel about women.	**1 2 3 4 5**
37.	I want to know more about the female culture.	**1 2 3 4 5**
38.	I think women and men differ from each other in some ways, but neither group is superior.	**1 2 3 4 5**
39.	I find that I function better when I am able to view men as individuals.	**1 2 3 4 5**
40.	I limit myself to activities involving women.	**1 2 3 4 5**
41.	Most men are untrustworthy.	**1 2 3 4 5**
42.	American society would be better off it were based on the cultural values of women.	**1 2 3 4 5**
43.	Women should not blame men for all their social problems.	**1 2 3 4 5**

APPENDIX B

Focus Group Interview Schedule

Questions for Mother

Please attempt to refrain from using any identifying information about your daughter, her teachers, or school

1. What did (your parents, mother/father, those who raised you) teach you or give you that you consider important?
    a. What messages did they give you about what it means to be black? What it means to be female?
2. Are there things about your own upbringing that you try to imitate/reproduce in raising your daughter? Like what?
    a. Are there things about how you were raised that you try to avoid doing with your daughter?
3. What does it mean to be a black woman living in your community of _____?

    [*Insert respective suburban city*]
4. What do you think it means to be a black girl living in your community of _____?
    [*Insert respective suburban city*]

Questions about Daughter

5. Thinking about your daughter's school…
    a. Tell me about it.
    b. Tell me about your reasons for sending your daughter to this school.
    c. How would you characterize the racial make-up of her school?
    d. Do you think your daughter has a sense of belonging?
    e. What are the best/worst things about this school for your daughter?
    f. What is your relationship like w/ her teachers?
6. What do you consider to be your daughter's racial or ethnic background?
7. Do you talk to or teach her about being _____? [*Insert identification used by mother*]
    a. How do you do this? What kinds of things do you say? What kinds of things do you do?
8. Do you think it is important for your daughter to understand what it means to be a _____?
    [*Insert identification used by mother*] If so, why? If not, why not?
9. Do you think it is important for your daughter to understand that there are racial or ethnic differences? If so, why? If not, why not?

10. Do you do things differently because your daughter attends a predominantly white school?
    a. Like what?
11. Within the last year, has your daughter experienced or observed any racist attitudes or incidents? If so, can you describe those?
    a. Did they occur in this neighborhood/subdivision/suburb/her school?
    b. How did you explain what happened, to her? How did she respond?
12. What do you tell (what kinds of messages do you give) your daughter about being a young, _____ girl?
    a. Probe for
        i. Cultural socialization
        ii. Preparation for bias
        iii. Promotion of mistrust
        iv. Egalitarian
13. Tell me about…
    a. How your daughter's room is decorated
    b. The kind of toys you've purchased for her
    c. The kind of entertainment you provide for her
        i. Movies, TV shows
        ii. Social activities (athletic events, cultural dance, etc.)
    d. What you do with her on the weekends
        i. Do you go to Detroit a lot?
            1. For what?
                a. Probe for church attendance, social & cultural events, etc.
14. Tell me about your daughter's friends.
    a. Is it important to you who her friends are?
        i. Probe for with regard to racial background
    b. Do any of them live in your neighborhood?
15. In general, what lessons/messages do you think your daughter has learned/received about being a young, _____ girl?
    a. How about from you, specifically?
    b. What about from the school she attends?
    c. What about from her friends?
    d. Siblings?

e. Relatives who may or may not live in Detroit?

16. Has your daughter expressed herself or behaved in a way that you thought was racially inappropriate?

a. If so, how did you handle the situation?

b. Do you think this reflects on you?

i. Does it say anything about you, or what you do/have done, as a mother?

APPENDIX C
Permission of Use

I. Parent-CARES

Sorry for the delay. Thanks again for emailing again. Attached is some info that may be helpful. We've revised our measures. We have a youth and parent version that's new and we just ask if you use the new measure, that you allow us some access to your data pool for the purpose of measurement construction. Just inform us of your results. We expect articles on completion of the factor analyses soon. Thanks. Peace.

Howard C. Stevenson, Ph.D.
Associate Professor and Chair
Applied Psychology and Human Development Division
University of Pennsylvania
Graduate School of Education
3700 Walnut Street
Philadelphia, PA 19104-6216
O-(215) 898-5666
F- (215) 573-2115
howards@gse.upenn.edu
http://www.gse.upenn.edu/faculty/stevenson

-----Original Message-----
From: Chasity Bailey-Fakhoury [mailto:ak7939@wayne.edu]
Sent: Friday, November 20, 2009 11:20 PM
To: howards@gse.upenn.edu
Subject: Fwd: Ph.D. Candidate Requesting Permission to Use the PERS

Dear Dr. Stevenson,
I emailed you last week seeking permission to use the PERS instrument. I hadn't yet received a reply and wanted to re-send my request.
Again, any information you could provide regarding accessing the instrument would be extremely helpful.

Thank you,
Chasity Bailey-Fakhoury
----- Forwarded Message -----
From: Chasity Bailey-Fakhoury <ak7939@wayne.edu>
To: howards@gse.upenn.edu
Sent: Thu, 12 Nov 2009 21:57:20 -0500 (EST)
Subject: Ph.D. Candidate Requesting Permission to Use the PERS

Dear Dr. Stevenson,
My name is Chasity Bailey-Fakhoury and I am a Ph.D. candidate in sociology at Wayne State University in Detroit, MI. I would like to use the PERS instrument as a part of my

dissertation research. My topic deals with racial socialization strategies and racial identity development of middle-class, suburban African American mothers of elementary-age daughters, attending predominately white schools. I would like to assess the racial socialization messages of these mothers.
If you could provide me with any information regarding accessing the PERS, I would greatly appreciate it.

Thank you for your time and consideration,
Chasity Bailey-Fakhoury

Ph.D. Candidate
Department of Sociology
Wayne State University
2228 Faculty Administration Building
Detroit, MI 48202

ak7939@wayne.edu
313-354-5145

II. CRIS

From: Chasity Bailey-Fakhoury <ak7939@wayne.edu>
To: William Cross <William.Cross@unlv.edu>
Date: 11/12/2009 07:09 PM
Subject: Re: Permission Granted: Ph.D. Candidate Requesting Permission to Use the CRIS

Asante sane!
I will send an electronic version upon the completion of my defense which is anticipated April, 2011.

----- Original Message -----

From: William Cross

To: ak7939@wayne.edu, Frank C. Worrell

Sent: Thu, 12 Nov 2009 14:03:11 -0500 (EST)

Subject: Permission Granted: Ph.D. Candidate Requesting Permission to Use the CRIS

Permission granted – thanks for seeking out our measure. Dr. Frank Worrell will forward scale

and other information about the CRIS. Remember to send me/us electronic copy of your dissertation.
Harambee,
BC

----- Forwarded by William

Cross/UNLV on 11/12/2009 10:59 AM -----

From: Chasity Bailey-Fakhoury
To: 281illiam.cross@unlv.edu
Date: 11/11/2009 05:12 PM
Subject: Ph.D. Candidate Requesting Permission

to Use the CRIS

Dear Dr. Cross,

My name is Chasity Bailey-Fakhoury and I am a Ph.D. candidate in sociology at Wayne State University in Detroit, MI. I would like to use the CRIS instrument as a part of my dissertation research. My topic deals
with racial socialization strategies and racial identity development of middle-class, suburban African American mothers of elementary-age daughters, attending predominately white schools. I would like to assess the racial identity of these mothers using your NT-E model. If you could provide me with any information regarding accessing the CRIS, I would greatly appreciate it.
Thank you for your time and consideration,
Chasity Bailey-Fakhoury, Ph.D. Candidate
Department of Sociology, Wayne State University
2228 Faculty Administration Building, Detroit, MI 48202
ak7939@wayne.edu

Dear Ms. Bailey-Fakhoury,

Thanks for your interest in the Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS). I am writing on behalf of the CRIS Team to give you permission to use the instrument in your research. The technical manual is attached to this email and the scale is available in the appendix of the manual.
I have also attached one of the validation studies (Vandiver et al., 2002), and there are several other studies in the literature by members of the team: Worrell et al., 2004, *Journal of Black Psychology*; Gardner-Kitt and Worrell, 2007, *Journal of Adolescence*; Simmons et al., 2008, *Assessment*; Worrell & Watson, 2008, *Educational and Psychological Measurement*.
There is no cost for using the scale. However, if you are willing, we would appreciate you sharing your CRIS data with us upon completion of your study, as we are in the process of collecting CRIS data for large-sample analyses.
There are separate citations for the scale and the manual, which are included on p. 17 of the manual. In addition, the citation for the expanded nigrescence model, on which the CRIS is based is as follows:
Cross, W. E., Jr., & Vandiver, B. J. (2001). Nigrescence theory and measurement: Introducing the Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS). In J. G. Ponterotto, J. M. Casas, L. M. Suzuki, & C. M. Alexander (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural counseling* (2nd ed., pp. 371-393). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
Descriptions of the original, revised, and expanded nigrescence models and the differences among them can be found in the Vandiver et al. (2002) and the manual.
Feel free to contact me if you have questions and best wishes for the successful completion of your project.

Permission granted – thanks for seeking out our measure.

Dr. Frank Worrell will forward scale and other information about the CRIS.

remember to send me/us electronic copy of your dissertation.

Harambee,

BC

----- Forwarded by William Cross/UNLV on 11/12/2009 10:59 AM -----

From: Chasity Bailey-Fakhoury <ak7939@wayne.edu> To: 283illiam.cross@unlv.edu Date: 11/11/2009 05:12 PM Subject: Ph.D. Candidate Requesting Permission to Use the CRIS

Dear Dr. Cross,
My name is Chasity Bailey-Fakhoury and I am a Ph.D. candidate in sociology at Wayne State University in Detroit, MI. I would like to use the CRIS instrument as a part of my dissertation research. My topic deals with racial socialization strategies and racial identity development of middle-class, suburban African American mothers of elementary-age daughters, attending predominately white schools. I would like to assess the racial identity of these mothers using your NT-E model.
If you could provide me with any information regarding accessing the CRIS, I would greatly appreciate it.

Thank you for your time and consideration,
Chasity Bailey-Fakhoury

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Department of Sociology
Wayne State University
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Detroit, MI 48202

ak7939@wayne.edu
313-354-5145

APPENDIX D
Human Investigations Committee Approvals

WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY

HUMAN INVESTIGATION COMMITTEE
101 East Alexandrine Building
Detroit, Michigan 48201
Phone: (313) 577-1628
FAX: (313) 993-7122
http://hic.wayne.edu

FILE

NOTICE OF EXPEDITED APPROVAL

To: Chasity Balley-Fakhoury
Sociology

From: Ellen Barton, Ph.D.
Chairperson, Behavioral Institutional Review Board (B3)

S. Mills for / ES

Date: June 17, 2010

RE: HIC #: 058110B3E

Protocol Title: Strategies African American Mothers Use to Strengthen the Racial Identity of their Elementary-Age Daughters Attending a Predominantly White School

Funding Source:

Protocol #: 1005008383

Expiration Date: June 16, 2011

Risk Level / Category: Research not involving greater than minimal risk

---

The above-referenced protocol and items listed below (if applicable) were **APPROVED** following *Expedited Review* (Category 7*) by the Chairperson/designee for the Wayne State University Behavioral Institutional Review Board (B3) for the period of 06/17/2010 through 06/16/2011. This approval does not replace any departmental or other approvals that may be required.

- Flyer
- Advertisement
- Focus Group Information Sheet (dated 5/20/10)
- Survey Information Sheet (dated 5/20/10)

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[2] Federal regulations require that all research be reviewed at least annually. You *may* receive a *"Continuation Renewal Reminder"* approximately two months prior to the expiration date; however, it is the Principal Investigator's responsibility to obtain review and continued approval *before* the expiration date. Data collected during a period of lapsed approval is unapproved research and can *never* be reported or published as research data.

[3] All changes or amendments to the above-referenced protocol require review and approval by the HIC **BEFORE** implementation.

[4] Adverse Reactions/Unexpected Events (AR/UE) must be submitted on the appropriate form within the timeframe specified in the HIC Policy (http://www.hic.wayne.edu/hicpol.html).

NOTE:

1. Upon notification of an impending regulatory site visit, hold notification, and/or external audit the HIC office must be contacted immediately.
2. Forms should be downloaded from the HIC website at *each* use.

*Based on the Expedited Review List, revised November 1998

WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY

HUMAN INVESTIGATION COMMITTEE
87 East Canfield, Second Floor
Detroit, Michigan 48201
Phone: (313) 577-1628
FAX: (313) 993-7122
http://hic.wayne.edu

FILE

Full AAHRPP Accreditation

NOTICE OF EXPEDITED AMENDMENT APPROVAL

To: Chasity Bailey-Fakhoury
Sociology

From: Dr. Scott Millis S. Millis, PhD
Chairperson, Behavioral Institutional Review Board (B3)

Date: February 09, 2011

RE: HIC #: 058110B3E

Protocol Title: Strategies African American Mothers Use to Strengthen the Racial Identity of their Elementary-Age Daughters Attending a Predominantly White School

Funding Source:

Protocol #: 1005008383

Expiration Date: June 16, 2011

Risk Level / Category: Research not involving greater than minimal risk

The above-referenced protocol amendment, as itemized below, was reviewed by the Chairperson/designee of the Wayne State University Institutional Review Board (B3) and is APPROVED effective immediately.

- Revised Protocol Summary Form (receipt of Appendix B - Internet Use in Research).
- Addition of Key Personnel: Charo Hulleza, Jason Hardacre, and John Jakary.
- Protocol revision - Data collection methods/instruments: Addition of an on-line survey.

Add Key Personnel at next entry :

I forgot
LA
2/9/11

WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY

IRB Administration Office
87 East Canfield, Second Floor
Detroit, Michigan 48201
Phone: (313) 577-1628
FAX: (313) 993-7122
http://irb.wayne.edu

FILE

Full AAHRPP Accreditation

NOTICE OF EXPEDITED CONTINUATION APPROVAL

To: Chasity Bailey-Fakhoury
Sociology

From: Dr. Scott Millis S. Millis, PhD
Chairperson, Behavioral Institutional Review Board (B3)

Date: May 12, 2011

RE: IRB #: 058110B3E

Protocol Title: Strategies African American Mothers Use to Strengthen the Racial Identity of their Elementary-Age Daughters Attending a Predominantly White School

Funding Source:

Protocol #: 1005008383

Expiration Date: May 11, 2012

Risk Level / Category: Research not involving greater than minimal risk

Continuation for the above-referenced protocol and items listed below (if applicable) were APPROVED following Expedited Review by the Chairperson/designee of the Wayne State University Institutional Review Board (B3) for the period of **05/12/2011 through 05/11/2012**. This approval does not replace any departmental or other approvals that may be required.

- Notice/Flyer with tear-off contact information
- Advertisement.
- Survey Research Information Sheet.
- Focus Group Research Information Sheet

- Federal regulations require that all research be reviewed at least annually. You *may* receive a *"Continuation Renewal Reminder"* approximately two months prior to the expiration date; however, it is the Principal Investigator's responsibility to obtain review and continued approval ***before*** the expiration date. Data collected during a period of lapsed approval is unapproved research and can never be reported or published as research data.
- All changes or amendments to the above-referenced protocol require review and approval by the IRB **BEFORE** implementation.
- Adverse Reactions/Unexpected Events (AR/UE) must be submitted on the appropriate form within the timeframe specified in the IRB Administration Office Policy (http://www.irb.wayne.edu//policies-human-research.php).

NOTE:

1. Upon notification of an impending regulatory site visit, hold notification, and/or external audit the IRB Administration Office must be contacted immediately.
2. Forms should be downloaded from the IRB website at **each** use.

*Based on the Expedited Review List, revised November 1998

See note → for next entry!

WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY

IRB Administration Office
87 East Canfield, Second Floor
Detroit, Michigan 48201
Phone: (313) 577-1628
FAX: (313) 993-7122
http://irb.wayne.edu

NOTICE OF EXPEDITED CONTINUATION APPROVAL

FILE

To: Chasity Bailey-Fakhoury
Sociology

From: Dr. Scott Millis S. Millis, PhD
Chairperson, Behavioral Institutional Review Board (B3)

Date: April 17, 2012

RE: IRB #: 058110B3E

Protocol Title: Strategies African American Mothers Use to Strengthen the Racial Identity of their Elementary-Age Daughters Attending a Predominantly White School

Funding Source:

Protocol #: 1005008383

Expiration Date: April 16, 2013

Risk Level / Category: Research not involving greater than minimal risk

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Continuation for the above-referenced protocol and items listed below (if applicable) were APPROVED following Expedited Review by the Chairperson/designee of the Wayne State University Institutional Review Board (B3) for the period of **04/17/2012 through 04/16/2013**. This approval does not replace any departmental or other approvals that may be required.

- Closed to accrual and active intervention completed 01/23/2012.

- Federal regulations require that all research be reviewed at least annually. You *may* receive a *"Continuation Renewal Reminder"* approximately two months prior to the expiration date; however, it is the Principal Investigator's responsibility to obtain review and continued approval ***before*** the expiration date. Data collected during a period of lapsed approval is unapproved research and can never be reported or published as research data.
- All changes or amendments to the above-referenced protocol require review and approval by the IRB **BEFORE** implementation.
- Adverse Reactions/Unexpected Events (AR/UE) must be submitted on the appropriate form within the timeframe specified in the IRB Administration Office Policy (http://www.irb.wayne.edu//policies-human-research.php).

NOTE:

1. Upon notification of an impending regulatory site visit, hold notification, and/or external audit the IRB Administration Office must be contacted immediately.
2. Forms should be downloaded from the IRB website at **each** use.

*Based on the Expedited Review List, revised November 1998

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ABSTRACT

"I CAN'T JUST TURN OVER MY DAUGHTER AND LET IT BE": BLACK MOTHERS AND THE RACIAL SOCIALIZATION OF THEIR DAUGHTERS ATTENDING WHITE SCHOOLS

by

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Studies of parental racial socialization and racial identity development have tended to focus on urban, lower-income African American parents and their adolescent or early adulthood children. Findings emanating from these studies are then extrapolated to *all* African Americans. Disregarding within-group differences produces gaps in our knowledge. This mixed-methods study pushes the research further by investigating the approaches suburban, middle-class Black mothers in metropolitan Detroit take to promote a positive racial-gender identity in their elementary-age daughters attending a predominantly white school. Metropolitan Detroit provides a unique milieu for undertaking this study. The 2005 American Community Survey reports that for the first time in fifty years, Detroit's African American population fell. Between 2000 and 2005, Detroit lost 90,000 of its black residents while during the same period, the surrounding suburbs increased their African American populations. Moving from a majority black city and school district to predominantly white ones means that parents will encounter situations where race and their children's racial identity take on a salience that heretofore they may have not fathomed. Parental racial socialization can help a child develop a healthy racial identity that can result in various positive academic, social, and psychological outcomes, particularly in settings where persons of color have been treated pejoratively.

Analyzed through a sociopsychological framework that rests upon the intersections perspective (a vehicle through which we observe how social systems, structures, and institutions make racial socialization and racial identity viable and necessary features of our social world) and the social-cognitive learning theory (which asserts that socialization results from observation, modeling, vicarious reinforcement, and imitation), African American mothers in this study engage in important racialized child-rearing work. It was found that mothers racially socialize their daughters at a higher rate than reported in previous studies. Significant associations between racial socialization message type and transmission mode exists. Additionally, mother's racial identity attitude can predict the degree of endorsement of various racial socialization messages. Lastly, mothers use a set of strategies termed "mothering work" to advocate for their daughters. Three of these strategies are: Presence, Imaging, and Code-switching. Presence consists of being visible in the school and at school functions; being deliberate in interactions with school personnel to gain leverage that will benefit the daughters; and the keen awareness of one's physical appearance and the role it plays as mother's advocate for their daughters. Imaging consists of mothers working hard to teach and show their daughters how to embrace their phenotypic features by using role models to reinforce a positive self-image and by reinforcing reflections of their daughters through home décor and activities outside the home. Code-switching refers to one's ability to move between cultural milieus at will and with fluidity. Many mothers in this study actively taught their children to be bi/tri-culturally fluent as a way to help their daughters navigate various domains with dexterity. Each of these strategies—which appear to be connected to the academic success of their daughters—are used by African American mothers to promote a positive racial-gender identity in their elementary-age daughters attending a predominantly white school. Investigating the racial socialization strategies used by

suburban African American mothers in promoting a positive racial identity in their elementary-age daughters attending predominantly white schools is a relevant undertaking as black residents continue to leave the city of Detroit for its surrounding suburban communities. As districts increase their African American populations, the strategies identified by this study may aid in the creation of curriculum, the development of teacher training programs, and the implementation of action plans seeking to close the achievement gap between black and white students.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL STATEMENT

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Education

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African American Success Foundation Dissertation Research Grant	2010-2011
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Thomas C. Rumble University Graduate Fellowship, Wayne State University	2009-2010
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Research Interests

Intersectionality of race, class, gender, age, & geography, Racial socialization & racial identity development, Foundations of Education, Social Stratification, Sociology of Detroit, Black Women's Health, African American mothering, Research Methods, Inequalities in Aging, and African American women's history.